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ABSTRACT

This book presents the work of a study commission on school-based undergraduate education for teachers. Participants of the commission were superintendents of schools and principals who have played a leading role in developing clinical training. Seven major areas were discussed: 1) educational reform and informational needs; 2) the idea of community and the education of teachers; 3) the use of higher education personnel in school-based undergraduate teacher-training programs; 4) school-based teacher-training centers; 5) certification and tenure; 6) funding problems and recommendations; and 7) strategies and proposals for change. Study commission recommendations concerned: a) an assessment of the needs and models in school-based undergraduate training of teachers, b) a study relating school, state and national budgeting procedures for the education of teachers, c) the age of teacher recruitment, d) feedback and evaluation of higher education as to its effectiveness in teaching, e) a redefinition of "performance" and "behavioral objectives", f) the reform of credentialling procedures to reflect community needs and the teachers capacity to do a job, g) federal funding as an "institutional reform" grant funding, h) training in professional education reflecting a respect for culture, life style, and power of oppressed groups, and i) control over the technical aspect of the undergraduate education of teachers. (MJM)

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THE UNIVERSITY CAN'T TRAIN TEACHERS:

A Symposium of School Administrators Discuss School-Based Undergraduate Education for Teachers

Sheraton Inn

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July 24-25, 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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"I have come to the conclusion that the university can't train teachers."

Richard L. Foster, Superintendent
Berkeley Unified School District

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INTRODUCTORY LETTER

June 15, 1972

To The UPEP Task Force:[1]

The first publication of the directorate of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers was *Education for 1984 and After*. This was a book reporting conversations with, and articles by, Deans of Education and Deans of (or leaders of) "Teaching-Learning Centers" which combined the attributes of the traditional College of Education and those of the traditional Arts and Science College in an experimental format. The tentative recommendations to the Office of Education of that first meeting were as follows:

Undergraduate manpower statistics need to be gathered in a much more targeted way than they have been, in ways which will represent what local power structure configurations, local community patterns, and local cultural needs are and how each of these bears on the education and placement of education personnel. The recognition of the unmet needs of students in present schools and the creation of a new view of what future schools should become are both considerations vital to any future teacher supply analysis.

Figures with respect to the cost of undergraduate teacher education *vis-á-vis* other forms of undergraduate education and professional education need to be gathered and displayed for national audiences (including legislative budget committees).

Current OE and national concepts of "accountability" and "cost effectiveness" need to be redefined to take cognizance of anthropological and sociological perceptions as to how human groups make people accountable to each other and recent perceptions as to how non-technical benefits conferred by critical education, including critical teacher education, may be assessed. New programs must be rooted in an understanding of human culture and of the culture or cultures served by a specific undergraduate program for education personnel: an understanding of the learning styles of these cultures.

Any future Office of Education funding of higher education should be developed as follows:

1. **The grant should be an "institutional reform" grant rather than a "temporary systems" or "purchase of services" grant.**
2. **Before the grant is given, commitments to follow up the changes created through it should be obtained up through the governing board of the institution and, in some cases, the state legislature.**
3. **Grants should require some form of program budgeting across Arts and Science Colleges and Education Colleges; and common, fully in-**

[1] Undergraduate Preparation of Educational Personnel is a program of the National Center for the Improvement of Educational Systems, U.S. Office of Education. The Study Commission works with the UPEP staff in a process of researching educational reform and developing programmatic thrusts.

tegrated systems of curriculum formation, evaluation of college teachers as teachers of teachers, and related promotion and pay features should be required.

4. Preference in grants should be given to places which have abolished or seriously modified departments and created some kind of common Arts and Sciences-Education learning community as the basis for educating education personnel.

5. Each program should have a clear program for governing inter-systemic questions which relate the college and the schools to each other: e.g. such questions as the staffing of clinical schools, feeding new teachers into the schools, protecting academic freedom in the school, need to be handled in a systemic way and across systems.

The Study Commission and UPEP will have to create the tools to make Higher Education take note of the above recommendations.

The second meeting of a Study Commission committee was a meeting with superintendents of schools and principals—women and men who have played a leading role in developing clinical training. The recommendations of that group are as follows:

Statistics:

1. Education statistics need to be gathered in relation to general social cost statistics which reflect the consequences of poor schools and badly educated teachers in such categories as the costs of prison programs, dropout programs, job training programs and so forth.

2. Education statistics which illuminate the market and tell what kinds of teachers are needed and where and what kinds are not needed, need both to be gathered better and better publicized.

The professional aspect of the training of teachers needs to be centered in the schools and controlled by them as a "technical training" comparable in some ways to industrial training. The role of higher education in the education of teachers should be to provide a good general or liberal education in the first three years of college. School-based professional training should be offered in the fourth and possibly the fifth years.

School-based training may make use of higher education personnel to assist in the professional, or technical education of the teacher:

1. to perform community-commissioned research;

2. to represent advanced stages of the knowledge-winning process both to the teacher and to the student.

School-based professional training should include a strong component of learning from the community and control by parents and students, and should respect the life style, value system, language, and expressive system of the culture in which the school which provides training is located.

School-based undergraduate training should continue up to tenure and should involve some sort of credentialling-in-neighborhood by the school system and parents.

The federal government should feed no funds of a research or scientific nature (NSF, NIMH, etc.) or for non-teacher training purposes to those institutions of higher education which refuse to fulfill their obligations to the schools.

School-based undergraduate professional training would cost no more than present higher education training and would require a form of collaboration among the schools, the state, and the federal government comparable to present methods providing for funding depending on collaboration of higher education, the institution, the state, and the federal government in such areas as science or among industry, the state, and the federal government in industrial training.

Primary funding should be "institutional reform funding" as opposed to "purchases of services" funding.

The following specific ancillary directives were given:

1. **The Study Commission and UPEP should make an assessment of needs and models in school-based undergraduate training of teachers.**
2. **They should do a study relating school, state, and national budgeting procedures for the education of teachers.**
3. **Teacher recruitment should begin in the schools as early as age 13.**
4. **Any clinical school should provide feedback and evaluation to higher education as to its effectiveness in teaching, particularly in the liberal arts.**
5. **The idea of "performance" and "behavioral objectives" should possibly be redefined in broader, less narrowly behavioristic terms, and in non-quantified, verbal terms.**

The Deans of Education and Arts and Sciences group took the following position which would tend to qualify the school administrators' positions:

The professional education of teachers needs to be centered in schools but not controlled by them because:

1. **The schools in most districts lack the intellectual resources of the typical College of Education.**
2. **The schools have very conservative administrations and school boards, and neither educational innovation nor academic freedom would be protected in school-based settings.**

Both groups agreed that:

1. **Credentialling procedures need reform to reflect community needs and the teacher's capacity to do-a-job.**
2. **Federal funding should be "institutional reform" grant funding.**

3. **Training in professional education needs much more to reflect a respect for the culture, life style, and power, or potential power, of oppressed groups and non-mainstream cultures.**

4. **Most schools in the present hide-bound state should not have any significant control over the technical aspect of the undergraduate education of teachers, even that which they presently have through cooperating teachers and principals in the less responsive schools.**

The fundamental issues which are joined between the deans and the school administrators may require:

That the AAUP and/or other organizations which "guarantee" academic freedom be encouraged to participate in the development of school-based undergraduate training for teachers and also be invited to participate in developing guarantees of freedom for student teachers where technical education is controlled by higher education.

That higher education either reshape, or give up its claim to offering, technical education in education areas and assign it to the schools, industry, community agencies, etc., which have extensive educational programs and can possibly provide their own technical education.

That the component dealing with the "critical" study of education in education faculties be deepened and broadened, made more theoretically rigorous, extend deeper into history and across more cultures.[2]

It appears the UPEP guidelines should take cognizance of, and reflect, the position taken by the Deans' group and School Administrators' group where reasonable concensus appears to exist between the two groups. Further Study Commission study and activity will be needed to resolve the outstanding issues and to take cognizance of other contributing groups.

This book also contains a series of essays setting forth related legal, statistical, fiscal, and budgetary issues. The burden of these essays is:

That the teacher shortage may be a myth, based on an incorrect conception of what a teacher of education is; training to be an educator should perhaps be offered in the school and other vocational and community contexts where education is done.

That some notions of "culturally pluralistic" education appear to have the force of legal opinion behind them (San Felipe del Rio), and these should be basic to school-based training.

That fully elaborated "clinical schools" do not yet exist and need to be conceptualized.

That "institutional development" funding is more effective than "purchase of services" funding in education reform areas.

[2] Cf. the suggestion of Charles E. Silberman in *Power, Authority and Decision Making in Teacher Education*, pp. 35-39; also pp. 49-51.

That local, state, and federal funding patterns for schools have to be clarified and rationalized if decent school-based training for teachers is to be realized.

The final report of the Study Commission will endeavor to clarify and/or resolve the issues raised above. The recommendations included in this introduction are brought to the UPEP task force and to the educational community of the nation for their consideration as the Undergraduate Preparation of Educational Personnel program is being built.

Paul A. Olson
Director, Study Commission on
Undergraduate Education and the
Education of Teachers

The following summary was made at the end of the discussion and approved by the participants.

SUMMARY

MR. OLSON:

1. The superintendents' and principals' group wants an assessment of need with respect to teacher training, perhaps clinical teacher training of an undergraduate sort based in the schools. The costs of the program are to be estimated, etc. This would be undertaken by the committee working with the American Association of School Administrators.

2. The group wants an exfoliation and rationalization of budgeting procedures which would involve bringing together the Office of Education procedures, state budgeting procedures, higher education budgeting procedures and school procedures.

3. The group wants a picture of how clinical teacher training which is centered in the community and the child could be carried on.

4. The group gave me the following directives: (a) first, that undergraduate training should be school-based in the fourth and fifth years; (b) second, that an undergraduate program should be a program which really begins in the high schools at about 13, encouraging the sense of a teaching vocation particularly in young men but also in young women at that level; (c) third, the program should carry through from the clinical school into the actual "common school staff" up to the point where the tenure

decision is made (which would probably be about three years after the person goes into the schools), the tenure decision being conceived of as a 3-10 year "tenure" decision with respect to continuation of employment; (d) fourth, the clinical school would be conceived of as a school which would give feedback to higher education as to how to reform its practicum and training activities particularly in the liberal arts areas (where such things as the Kent State sociology practicum would be conceived of as models for the training of people who could actually operate in schools and do a job of using the schemata provided by higher education to understand the world in which the school operates); (e) fifth, the committee asked for a series of new definitions of performance, some of them non-numerical: first of all, transactional definitions of performance as set forth by Dick Foster; second, "verbal" or "descriptive language game" definitions of performance as opposed to numerical definitions; third, group and community-oriented or community-of-the-school definitions of performance as described by Murray Wax and others in recent essays attacking conventional notions of "accountability"; (f) sixth, the group said that the teacher education program should be directed toward the reshuffling of certification so that a teacher's being allowed to teach would not be simply a matter of getting a degree or getting credentialled but of the teacher's being certified as a person who is appropriate to teach in a specific school or specific context. The group said that there should be a program involving parents in the local community to "certify" at the district level.

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EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND INFORMATIONAL NEEDS

In discussion about educational reform and needed information the group raises a variety of questions: How many teachers are presently available? What are the actual costs of education? How does the economy affect education, now and in the future? What kind of adults are needed in the classroom? What is the picture of the total social and cultural reality—i.e., How much is spent by the government on Lockheed or how many native American teachers are there in areas of large native American populations? How do local communities express their own educational needs? Are these real needs or has the thinking of the community been controlled and manipulated by people in power who decide what information the people should have?

The group also considers the following issues: The formulation of value statements regarding the relationship between school and society; how a precise definition of market needs would affect teacher recruitment; identifying at the elementary levels potential teachers, training them and using them in teaching relationships as a way of getting quality teachers.

Shapiro in his study deals with one aspect of information needs—the supply and demand for teaching personnel. He suggests that the present perception of teachers as "single-purpose tools" rather than as professionals who are capable of working in a variety of situations increases the disparity between supply and demand. He warns that if current recommendations to curb the teacher surplus are put into effect that a *shortage* of teachers may result by 1990. He bases this projection not merely on population growth but also on fundamental changes in our society involving what he calls an "information revolution" in which jobs will be *task-oriented*—a process involving a heavy demand on training and re-training. Moreover, he suggests the fundamental attention should be given to the *process* of training and utilizing teachers rather than to an attempt to decrease their numbers.

"There ought to be paid work that older adolescents can do in an inner city school that can be enormously useful. The gang kid, who may be a more effective teacher of reading for kids from his neighborhood than the certified person, should be paid as well as given credit. My point is that it doesn't have to lead the kid anywhere if he doesn't want it. If he says, 'I don't want to be a teacher in the long run,' fine. But, we can say, 'We need you, you are valuable; not only can we pay you now and give you immediate reward, but we can set up a program for you that, in effect, will later lead directly into a career of teaching.' "

—Robert Schwartz, see p. 12.

INFORMATION NEEDED

MR. OLSON:

I hope that this becomes a fairly open kind of discussion group. I want to start with what kinds of information you think a Study Commission, concerned with getting decent teachers to American schools, ought to have available. I am thinking first of numbers information; the National Center for Educational Statistics or other groups are willing to gather numbers.

MR. SALMON:

It appears to me that we are always hung up on what a good teacher is. My inclination is to define what we expect of teachers in terms of results as reflected in the output of students. As I read the material that you sent me, I was struck by the fact that we are still looking at inputs so far as teacher behavior is concerned; I was particularly struck by the discussion in one of these documents which dealt with the training of teachers in institutions in terms of the salary scales of these institutions as rated by the American Association of University Professors. I found no indication that anybody had ever looked at how well the people who were educated as teachers at institutions which paid good salaries, performed in terms of student performance. It is attractive to say that teachers should come from Class A institutions, institutions where the professors are all well paid. But, I would like some data—there may be data—indicating that teachers coming from those institutions are, in truth, more effective teachers.

MR. SPILLANE:

Statistics are extremely important at this initial stage of the Study Commission's work because statistics are changing—and

rapidly—in this country's schools. The first statistic we need to know is how many teachers are available.

Teachers are now a glut on the market. A district such as New Rochelle, a small city district, has dismissed 171 teachers for lack of funds. As a district reaches a fiscal crisis and starts to reorient its priorities, its new priorities have a far-reaching effect on teacher education.[1]

The role of the schools in the past has included the role of social leadership. We provide supportive services — speech, health, hearing; we are probably the greatest source of public health in this country. We vaccinate, look at eyes, ears, noses and throats; we provide all kinds of services that we no longer have substantial sums of money for, particularly where the public bases its funding on the premise that we are primarily to provide education in reading, writing and arithmetic. Education has changed drastically in the last hundred years, but the support for it is still the same: the property tax. As a typical school district finds that it cannot collect enough taxes, it starts eliminating people like social workers and reading teachers. Maybe this is good in that it focuses the teacher's responsibility. There is no longer the reading teacher that a teacher can point to and say, "This kid has a reading problem, and that's what you're here for," or "He has a social problem and that's what the social worker is here for." Like it or not, the cutting of supportive staff is now shaping the teacher's role and responsibility in a school. It is an external force that we have very little control over. Maybe it will be good; maybe it will be bad. I think it depends on how the cutting of staff is harnessed. The fact is that, given the rising cost of education and the slower growth of the GNP, we may have to place 40 to 50 kids in a classroom.

All these are considerations really fundamental and prerequisite to a discussion of teacher education in the context of reality.

[1] For a description of New Rochelle's redesign efforts see p. 153.

MR. OLSON:

Are you saying that we have to accept the notion that we are going to cut staff?

MR. SPILLANE:

No. I think we must consider it in terms of gathering data—to find out what the fiscal picture really is like. Recent reports in *Newsweek* or *Time* show the rate of growth in need for teachers is low. That may or may not be accurate, but we need a lot of data as to the number of people that are going to be available, the cost of education, and how the economy is going to affect education. These are critical forces affecting the training of teachers.

MR. OLSON:

Are you saying that, if we cut back, the question is whether we keep the highly specialized person or the classroom teacher?

MR. SPILLANE:

External forces are causing cut backs. We shall have to set our own priorities.

MR. FOSTER:

I need at least five times as many adults in my classroom as I have at the present time in order to provide the kind of adult-student interaction relationships necessary if we are really serious about the delivering of skills. We have never really talked about site concentration. We have never really talked about what would it take if we really wanted to do it. We are not overstaffed; we are understaffed. We don't have enough to do the task, and I say that purposely. The Gross National Product does not provide enough money to schools for staff, and that ought to be our bombardment on the U.S. Office of Education.

The question is, what kind of adults do we need in those classrooms? If we keep going as we are, I don't see any turnaround. Twenty years from now we will be inches better off, if at all.

MR. SALMON:

The rationale that one built staff on was that social workers were needed in order to produce a certain kind of behavior; a reading teacher was needed to produce another kind of behavior.

That's a traditional way to look at it—that if you get a teacher-pupil ratio of so much and if you have all of these ancillary types of people around, you will produce a result. Some data indicates that you don't produce the results that way. On the other hand, in certain areas of California (and I can talk about Sacramento), where you did site concentrating, you did produce results. The political problems that immediately emerge result from an inadequate economic base. You go to the people and say, "Let's find a better way to teach ghetto kids." And so you find a better way. But, it costs you $400 more per student than you're spending on your regular kids. So you say, "Give us $400 more per student and we believe that we can expand this program and better meet the needs of more children." At that point, the taxpayers are likely to say, "That wasn't the idea. The idea was really to develop, within the context of your initial outlay, a plan to teach kids in this way."

We have to grapple with what we expect from kids as to behavior. We have to look at the kind of delivery system and the kind of staffing patterns that produce our concern for misconduct. I guess one of the problems that I have dealt with for some time has to do with input versus output. If you add more staff, do you necessarily produce more results? Well, that's problematic. Maybe you do, maybe you don't.

MS. SIZEMORE:

Data need to be collected about the total social reality; information on the total reality is not available. It's hidden information. We have information on how much money is spent on the war in Viet Nam, but not on the subsidies given to companies like Lockheed. These expenditures should be placed side by side with the inadequate educational allocation and should be known to the people.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

We need analysis of comparative social costs—e.g. of the cost of preventive money pumped into schools as opposed to remedial money spent down the road.

MS. SIZEMORE:

Yes, for instance, the amount of money needed to keep a man in prison for a number of years. This should be made public

to the people so that they know what the government's priorities really are. Is Lockheed more important than education, for example?

I want to know about the total social reality; I want to know about local cultural realities. I want to know how many American Indian teachers there are in systems that have large American Indian populations. I want to know how many Spanish-speaking teachers there are in cities like Chicago with their large concentrations of Spanish-speaking people. I want to know those kinds of things and I want the people to know. And I want to know what our teacher training institutions are doing about the deficits in those areas.

MR. SPILLANE:

It was shocking to educators in this country when, not too long ago, the Gallup poll found that most of the people in this country—73 per cent—were most concerned about discipline in schools. Discipline was, to them, the foremost educational issue; it still stands high on the list. That says something that school people have to be aware of. In gathering information, we need to find out what the people view as "the problem" so that we can work with it and develop systems with people, not in isolation from them, predetermining what they think as we perceive it.

MS. SIZEMORE:

If you find out that the people are concerned about discipline, what are you going to do?

MR. SPILLANE:

That's just one aspect of a tremendous amount of data that's essential to develop a complete picture. We are still operating in isolation. Community involvement, in many cases, has been a farce because we have predetermined what the community wants. Maybe we don't have the data available to find out what the community wants. Maybe it doesn't know.

MS. SIZEMORE:

I have problems with that approach. The community, which I represent, in the first place, has an inaccurate conceptual map of reality—and not accidentally—because people with power have

controlled what knowledge was distributed and disseminated to the people in my community; they only know what the people in power want them to know, which means that they do not have choices.

For example, when the new Martin Luther King High School was built, the people in the community wanted a general academic high school as good as any other high school in the city, but such a school did not speak to the needs of the students who were coming to that high school. The community had to have information, as it discussed, so that it could understand what it was choosing before it could intelligently choose.

MR. SPILLANE:
That's exactly what I am saying.

MS. SIZEMORE:
If you were to let loose a group of surveyors in my community at this point and they would ask some questions about various situations, the community would give them whatever responses the knowledge it has dictates; the community may say that what we need is more police in the school. But, if aware of another set of knowledge, it would then have a choice between actions and know why it chooses as it does.

MR. SPILLANE:
Even if a community says that it wants more police, that is something. I know then where my problem lies in education. Part of the problem is that we have done an extremely poor job in educating people as to what we are doing.

MR. CARDENAS:
I have another hangup on a polling approach to finding out what communities want. Minority groups are going to be poorly represented. Rather than taking a poll of what Americans want for their schools, I think we need a mechanism so that, in a specific neighborhood, one can find out what it wants for its schools.

MR. OLSON:
But meaningful data can't be gathered from the neighborhood until the people in the neighborhood have been through the kind of educational process that Barbara has been talking about.

MR. SALMON:

As I listened to the conversation, it seemed to me that there was a determination by—I guess, by the board of education in Chicago, that the people in that community initially wanted a general academic high school. Did I hear you accurately on that?

MS. SIZEMORE:

Right.

MR. SALMON:

That seemed to support Bud Spillane's position that that was a beginning point. Then the needs of the community were related to that; and the incongruities emerged. It took some real illumination and real work on the part of people who understood that situation to get the people who lived in the community to change their idea about what the school ought to be.

MS. SIZEMORE:

I agree with that. But, I'm saying that to go ahead and build the general academic high school, knowing that the people did not understand that there was any other alternative, really, is using the people to further the goals of the system. Because, it is the system that distributed the information about the general academic high school in the first place.

MR. CARDENAS:

Let me give another example: bilingual education. The adult population in Navarro has been discriminated against; it has been exploited, and a lot of the exploitation and discrimination has been rationalized in these terms: you don't speak good English so you can't get a job that pays a good salary. The penalty for being "non-English speaking" has been a big millstone around these people's necks. Then come the superintendent of schools and the board, and they say, "We're going to start a bilingual education program." The people say, "What's that?" "Well, we are going to start teaching the kids in Spanish." "Oh, no, you are not. I can just see my kid getting screwed all his life like I have been, because I don't speak adequate English." It takes a formidable adult education program. The communities who were going to implement this thing had to understand that it wasn't minimizing acquisition of English language skills but an alterna-

tive system which allowed for the maximizing of the acquisition of skills in English.

If you conduct a poll right now among Spanish-speaking populations and say, "Do you want bilingual education?" they're going to say, "Hell, no, we want our kids to be given jobs."

MR. OLSON:

I hear you saying something that Tony Gibbs of the Woodlawn Organization said about the Moynihan report: "If you really want to understand the problems of the United States, you don't have Moynihan come in and look at a lot of black families." That is, you investigate problems in *controlling populations*, not in the *controlled ones*.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

Before we talk about gathering data, we must make some value statements about what a relationship between a school and a society ought to be. I would suggest two values that ought to be priority values: (1) Schools should promote cultural diversity, which is not simply a matter of a community's perpetuating its own culture; it is education toward placing a proper kind of value on pluralism and other people's cultural systems; (2) schools should help level income and power differences, so that the gap between rich and poor would be considerably narrower in the next generation. One has to acknowledge that efforts to realize these values may mean a confrontation with the power structure. They may mean more tension rather than less. There will appear a real opposition between the needs of the dominant society to reproduce itself, its desire to use schools to perpetuate the present social structure, and the values which ought to be our priorities.

In my own situation, Adams High School has been operating directly in the face of majority community sentiment for a couple of years and, I have to say, not with great success. If we had conducted a poll in the dominant community before we opened Adams as to what kind of school the people wanted, it damn well wouldn't have been the kind of school we wanted. And if we took a poll now in the dominant community and asked people whether or not the school was reflecting their values and needs,

they would say, "Hell, no." The Study Commission has to lead, and it has to gather data from some perspective as to what constitutes leadership.[2]

MARKET NEEDS AND RECRUITMENT

MR. SALMON:

As I look at the issue of data and teacher training, I think of a number of variables that impinge on the final results. Perhaps the most important is the variability of the market. It isn't the teacher training institution which decides who's going to be a teacher. Essentially the individual decides who's going to be a teacher. The institution can only filter.

Now, how can this system work? If you could have an expression from Barbara Sizemore's school or another school, say, that Spanish-speaking teachers are valuable, some of the people who are going to college that are trying to make up their minds about what they want to do might opt in that direction. But, right now, the market isn't that well defined. With the Bilingual Education Act, there has been some movement in that direction, because it's been enunciated; people who are bilingual now see a market. But the market has not been well illuminated as a basis for counselling and career direction.

MS. SIZEMORE:

But, teacher training institutions do affect the market. Even with the large number of schools in Chicago urban areas that service Spanish-speaking communities, most teacher training institutions have yet to provide a program for Spanish-speaking teachers.

MR. CARDENAS:

Not only that—in my area, most institutions of Higher Education impose a lot of barriers that prohibit Spanish people from going into college.

MS. SIZEMORE:

The whole area of intelligence testing—I have had students who would come from Puerto Rico, sophomores in high school, placed in the 7th grade because the school had given them no

[2] For a partial description of Adams High School In Portland, Oregon, see p. 83.

Spanish-speaking tests to measure intelligence or achievement. The whole English-speaking curriculum is imposed upon them at a level of interest and instruction through which they have already passed.

MR. SALMON:

Except for the bilingual program that's especially funded, what kind of a market expression do you have for this kind of teacher, for the teacher that can communicate with the Puerto Rican or the Chicano or the Sioux?

MS. SIZEMORE:

We need data to tell us where these schools are, what numbers of Spanish-speaking teachers are needed. But the problem is very complex. We have programs to desegregate teachers, but there are forces in the community saying, "I need this cultural residue in my school to deal with the problems of my people." These two forces come together head on, especially in the Black community. Again, in the South, Black teachers are losing their jobs through desegregation; that's inimical to their interests. They are being displaced by white teachers in the name of integregation.

MR. CARDENAS:

The shortcoming of a defining of the market is this: it will have an effect on who seeks to be trained for the jobs, but it is unlikely to affect training.

MR. SALMON:

Your district said that you want 500 Spanish-speaking teachers because you have a program that's going to engage that skill; then you might go about trying to get them so you could put your program into effect. I think it would have an effect on training.

MR. CARDENAS:

Let me give you an example. We have a Career Opportunities Program. I not only say, "I have got vacancies for 120 teachers, or will have within four years"; I identify the 120 that want to go into teaching and recruit them. I provide full tuition, stipends, salaries, books, and all fees, but that damn college still won't do

anything for them. The same thing is true with our bilingual institutes. I've got a hundred thousand bucks for training teachers, but the college will make no concession. If the kid doesn't pass the ATC exam, they will not pass the kid.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

We have got to get more Blacks and Chicanos and Indians into teaching. We ought to begin to design a strategy to get these people in. An early identification process is already underway in several places under COP, for example. This process includes identifying potential teachers at the high school level, using them in a tutoring relationship within the schools, and putting them on a paid basis through Neighborhood Youth Corps funds or other kinds of funds. This means taking someone at the age of 14 or 15 and saying two things to them: (1) we will guarantee you a teaching position if you want it at X point down the road; and (2) we will provide a combination of work and study for you beginning right now.

MR. OLSON:

I would be more comfortable if we said that we conditionally guaranteed the teaching position, the condition being that that person becomes a teacher.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

There presumably would be some kind of criteria. But very often one of the real problems for a Black adolescent in the city is that he feels locked in a system that's not going to lead him anywhere. Given this it means a great deal to be able to say, "Assuming you keep your part of the bargain and stay in, our needs for Black teachers are such that we are willing to go out on a limb and say we can guarantee you a position. We are willing to bet on you and we are willing to design a program that will work with you—a training program on the basis of what we know about you as a person at age 13 that will help you be a teacher."

I see your side of the argument, but I'm willing to say that the recruitment problem and the need for Black teachers more than outweighs the possible cost of making that kind of com-

mitment and having somebody take you up on it who really is not qualified.

MR. CARDENAS:

My experience has been with COP where the student was identified as belonging to a high-risk category. We are having only a ten to fifteen per cent mortality rate in the high risk category. If we were to take the cream off the top, there would be very little risk and we would have a lot of assurance that the young people recruited would go into teacher positions.

MR. OLSON:

A realistic teacher training program—one different from existing ones—would be based on the choice of the individual rather than somebody's going out and selecting them.

MR. CARDENAS:

No question about it.

MR. OLSON:

But, that choice is difficult for the person we are talking about. The thirteen-year-old kid in a Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano or Indian community may never have been in touch with a relative who's had significant long-term employment. Part of the education of that kid may be to get him to entertain the notion that he has skills as a teacher, to help him visualize that he's good or potentially good.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

Let's make it more immediate; there ought to be paid work that older adolescents can do in an inner city school that can be enormously useful.

The gang kid, who may be a more effective teacher of reading for kids from his neighborhood than the certified person, should be paid as well as given credit.

My point is that it doesn't have to lead the kid anywhere if he doesn't want it. If he says, "I don't want to be a teacher in the long run," fine. But, we can say, "We need you, you are valuable; not only can we pay you now and give you immediate reward,

but we can set up a program for you that, in effect, will later lead directly into a career of teaching."

MR. OLSON:

There is something like this going on in some places. North Dakota, I think, has developed something like this with non-degree Indian people in connection with their COP Program. Another thing that could be related to this is the Action program which is supposed to provide money for community service. The concept might be extended to help us recruit young people—junior and senior high people—into the education professions.

MS. SIZEMORE:

Another issue in my community is the recruitment of males. COP is predominantly female, and so are the teacher aides and paraprofessionals working with community agencies. Teacher training has failed to emphasize the necessity of involving individuals in teacher training programs at that level—twelve to sixteen—in the Black community and particularly among young Black males.

Recruitment must begin there because that's the age where recruitment of the gangs is intense and increased; that's the age where the dropout occurs. The same is true in your (Cardenas') community.

MR. CARDENAS:

Yes. But we're in this with the NYC program, and we have a very large number of males in it— in excess of fifty per cent I would imagine. That program can be harnessed for the recruitment of education personnel.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

Let us ask the question of the recruitment of educational personnel in terms of the value premises which I tried to establish; respect for cultural diversity and redistribution of power. We began talking about the law of supply and demand. But if Barbara (Sizemore) set up a functional teaching program for the Woodlawn Project, and it had a major component that had to do with changing the power structure of a community and involving parents and kids working together in the training of teachers

and thinking of teachers as advocates, that would be fine for filling her jobs in that community. But for her to say so would be, I would imagine, dysfunctional in terms of the larger system; that is, the person who has been trained at Adams has to pretty well conceal that fact if he's going to get hired in the larger Portland system or outside.

MS. SIZEMORE:

Not necessarily dysfunctional. Each ethnic neighborhood sets to protect its interest. When I first came to the Chicago Public School System on April 9, 1947, you had to be an Irish Catholic. Therefore, I could not get a regular job. I was a substitute in school after school where the principal was named Murphy and the vice-principal was named O'Hanrahan or Harrigan or Riley; over and over and over, it happened.

Finally, I got the idea. I said, "Okay, that's the way it is." So I became principal of a school. And I went around to look at all the schools that surrounded me, a few bocks to the north, a few blocks to the west, a few blocks to the south, and east. And, at each one of these schools, whatever the national ethnic group of the community was, the principals were of the same nationality. All of the people in the positions that had some prestige were of that ethnic group, you know, give or take a few instances where you have a principal like Joe Rosen.

And so I said, "Okay. In my school, everybody is my ethnic group." That's the way you did it, because that's the only way people got jobs, you see. That's the way you made opportunities for your people who were qualified.

My people were sold on democracy and education and the pursuit of love and brotherhood and peace; but the Irish weren't asking that question relating to their pursuits and neither were the Jews. Their first question in Chicago was, "Is he an Irish Catholic?" Then, "Is he qualified?" You see? So I had to learn that process just as I imagine Spanish-speaking people—

MR. SALMON:

How did you become an Irish Catholic?

MS. SIZEMORE:

I never did. I just reversed my questions. My agendas were hidden, but that's the way you made opportunities for the people in your ethnic group. The point I was trying to make was that these opportunities do not come about by the law of supply and demand. The demands are created by the "people power" of the ethnic group.

MR. SALMON:

It seems to me that if you are looking for a teacher training program which is designed to get people into the schools in such a fashion that they will then create a market for Spanish-speaking teachers, well, that's one thing. If, on the other hand, you are saying that *there is already a substantial demand* for a kind of teacher that is now not being produced already, that's another.

MS. SIZEMORE:

They are really two sides of the same coin. This is what I am trying to say.

MR. SALMON:

Well, I know about creating a market. I understand you on that.

MS. SIZEMORE:

My people used to have Ph.D.'s in the post office. Well, that wasn't very inspiring for anybody to get a Ph.D., because you could work in a post office with a high school education, or eighth grade education if you really could read. So, the fact that this man had a Ph.D. carried a kind of derogatory connotation, because he didn't get any further than the post office. So, the community said, "That's stupid to go through all that just to get a job in the post office." If you don't create a place for your Ph.D.'s, then the people are not motivated to try to get Ph.D.'s. This is one of the problems with high school graduates in the Black community.

If I am a kid in the upper grade center in the Black community, and my brother has just graduated from Dunbar High School, a straight A student in plumbing and is down at the pool hall because he can't get in the plumbing union, then I've got problems.

MR. SALMON:
I know.

MR. CARDENAS:
A further example of this, in the South, will show how bad it is. During the real severe shortage of teachers in the 1950's, we had school districts where over 50 per cent of the teachers were on emergency permits because they couldn't reach certification requirements, and at the same time Blacks with teacher's certificates, graduate work, and master's degrees were still working as waiters and porters and busboys. Right now, in the state of Texas, I would imagine that easily 75 per cent of the Spanish teachers in all of the secondary schools are white Anglos that learned Spanish in college and speak it as if they had learned it in college.

MR. OLSON:
Let me try to pick up on the implications of the things you are saying for the issue of information gathering and the recruitment of teachers. Would it be something like this: that one of the ways of working might be to gather information to identify communities where the people were rather aware of their own educational interests, in which poor people—Chicanos, poor whites, or other groups—were rather aware of what was going on with respect to power and education, sufficiently aware so that they would be able to put pressure on school boards to hire teachers that serve the needs of their kids (i.e., would belong to their ethnic group, teach reading effectively, whatever the base is). The federal program would then try to get the school systems to develop appropriate school-based training programs to develop the teachers which this community now wished to hire.

MS. SIZEMORE:
You seem to be giving me equities. I'm saying, "Give me 'inequities' in the power positions that create the present job market." Minority groups have to create "inequities" for themselves when they come into those positions; otherwise, there won't be any. To put it another way: I want to eliminate the present inequities in the power struggle through providing for parity in the decision making so that minority groups have an

entree at the planning and "initiating of policy-making" level. I want minority groups not to be forced into reacting against a plan that is already made.

MR. OLSON:

One does not create parity with guidelines. The powerless community has to create a sufficient political self-consciousness for itself so that the parity already exists before the guidelines come down. Federal funds never come into a neighborhood and create parity (c.f. Title I, ESEA); at least, I can't imagine that they would.

Manpower: Supply and Demand for Teaching Personnel

Leo Shapiro[1]

Teacher trainers have to look further ahead than 1980 if they want to alleviate the problems of the current teacher surplus. Statistics from the 1970 census, when projected to the year 2000, point to a rising need for teachers in the 1990's after a low point in school enrollment in 1980.

The largest single age group as of the 1970 census was 10-year-olds. Shortly after these childen reach child-bearing age during the late 1970's and early 1980's, the number of school-age children will again begin to increase. (Figures are based on "moderate" assumptions of population growth and school enrollment rates—for instance, a completed cohort fertility rate of 2.45 children per each woman born in 1957 or later).

Since "teacher power"—supply and demand for teachers—flows with the needs of the schools, hasty attempts to solve the temporary surplus may result in serious shortages later on. Instead, teachers must be trained to function outside the school system while retaining their teaching skills for use in the schools when needed.

Problems caused by the flow of supply and demand for teachers were studied recently by our staff, with emphasis on 1) present literature on the subject, 2) remedial actions that have been recommended, 3) projections of the present situation into the future, and 4) programs to accomodate this flow of supply and demand.

Supply of 4.1 Million Exceeds Demand

Current literature confirms that people are entering the teaching field at a faster rate than needed for the jobs which exist or are being created. *Occupational Manpower and Training Needs* (Bulletin 1701, U.S. Department of Labor, 1971, pp. 34-35) states: "Altogether (counting new graduates 2.7 million plus reentrance 1.4 million) elementary and secondary school teachers could number 4.1 million, more than the 2.4 million needed (by the year 1980)."

Even if the NEA minimum standards for quality were to be taken as the standard of demand (at a level of 34 elementary pupils per teacher and 199 secondary pupils per teacher), the surplus would still exist.

[1] The author heads Leo J. Shapiro and Associates, Inc., a Chicago market research firm. Shapiro is chairman of a committee within the Study Commission whose role is to provide technical assistance in developing an information system for the commission. Most of the material in this article was contained in a speech Shapiro gave at the annual convention of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education in Chicago Feb. 24, 1972. A monograph containing the entire speech and additional research is being prepared for publication.

The surplus, however, "pays off" for the schools. With more applicants for a teaching job, administrators can hire a better qualified teacher for less money.

Two basic remedial plans of action have been discussed by educators:

1. Increase the number of opportunities for employment of teachers.

2. Decrease the number of people who are able to seek employment as teachers.

Among the suggested ways of *increasing the number of jobs* are to:

(1) **Raise the "quality standard"** (by lowering the pupil-teacher ratio). NEA has suggested a ratio of 24 elementary pupils per teacher and 124 secondary pupils per teacher, which would help "match jobs with teachers" until 1974. Even lower ratios of 19 to 1 and 99 to 1 have been suggested to handle the problem until 1978.

(2) **Increase the number of students,** by developing programs for pre-school children, for people over 65, for adults seeking retraining, by forcing full enrollment of school-age children.

(3) **Create specialized classes for the handicapped,** or otherwise exceptional child, and those who are not now reached or served by the present educational system as intensely as they require for full development. Specially trained teachers would be required to serve the needs of these students

(4) **Redistribute and relocate teachers** to areas where it is difficult to recruit a teaching staff. The Office of Education Commissioner's Annual Report in 1970 stated that there was a surplus, but "(only a surplus in some areas). Twenty-six states reported shortages of applicants for regular classroom teaching jobs in rural areas. Six states reported shortages in small cities; four in central urban areas. There are also shortages in math, the physical and natural sciences, trade, industrial and vocational courses, and programs for the disadvantaged."

(5) **Give higher pay for difficult teaching jobs.** This might increase applicants for inner city and ghetto schools and reduce the number of applicants competing for suburban jobs.

(6) **Retrain certified teachers to take jobs** that might otherwise be filled by paraprofessionals who are not certified teachers. Make certification a prerequisite for "trainee" and paraprofessional positions.

To *decrease the number of people who are seeking teaching jobs,* some "weeding out" of the present educational system has been suggested:

(1) **Discharge the teachers who are not fully certified to teach.** Do away with provisional certificates and other devices whereby people lacking teacher training can get jobs as teachers.

(2) **Require certification for non-teaching jobs** within the school system, such as school nurse or librarian, to secure for teachers jobs in the educational system that might otherwise go to people who have not been certified.

(3) **Train teachers to serve specialized groups** in the population who need different or specialized methods of teaching, such as the ghetto child, the child belonging to a particular ethnic group. Raising certification standards for these jobs would reduce the number of jobs for which normal certification is enough.

(4) **Increase qualifications and requirements for teacher hiring.** This has been done by 65 per cent of school administrators surveyed in November, 1971. Fifty-seven per cent claim they will stiffen requirements still further in the future.

(5) **Increase qualifications and requirements for entry into teachers' colleges.** This would improve the quality of teachers while reducing the number, it is claimed.

(6) **Discourage teaching as a career choice.** This could be done both by increasing qualifications and requirements for entry into a teaching curriculum (no. 5 above) and by widely publicizing the surplus.

(7) **Dismiss teachers who are deemed "bad"** by student evaluations of their classroom performance.

(8) **Enlist early retirement programs.**

(9) **Send teachers overseas** to satisfy the demand in foreign countries.

The outcome of these plans of action might be to increase the cost of education per student to a very high level (perhaps to levels that will be rejected by taxpayers); to force school systems to compete for teachers through higher salaries; and to reduce the number who want to teach, who are trained to teach, and who are *allowed* to teach.

Perception of Teachers as 'Machines'

Perhaps the source of the problem is the perception that prevails concerning teachers, schools, and the learning process. The present perception of teachers depersonalizes teachers, treats them as machines, regards them as having limited value by virtue of their training, mental capacity and experience and by virtue of their lack of experience *outside* the school system.

Although we see teachers as intellectuals, they are perceived sometimes to be not quite as bright as other professionals. They are trainable to do professional work, but only of a simple sort, and only in a controlled system.

In the effort to borrow methods of solving the problem from systems analysis and economics, the resultant statistics and models are being taken for reality. Because of this, teachers are taken as single-purpose tools, rather

than human beings who are capable of growing and operating autonomously outside the controlled system in which statistics say they must function.

There is, at present, a surge of horror over the surplus—a sort of panic after having wished for teachers in the light of a shortage, and having been granted much more than we asked for. Now, what do we do with them?

There is a power struggle that also obscures the issue, whereby teachers seek to expand their share of money by the use of tactics borrowed from guilds and unions. There is an effort to differentiate teachers in a Darwinian fashion to reduce competition.

Consequences of Success

A real problem may develop if these actions to handle the so-called surplus are effective in reducing teacher availability, slowing the entry of people into the teaching professions. The cost increases may stiffen the backs of taxpayers in terms of the fight for more money to train fewer and fewer children.

The chart accompanying this article depicts projections made by people who hate to be wrong. Most surveys don't go far enough into the future. The difference between the projections behind this chart and the projections behind the statistics quoted on the surplus is that these projections were made by people who have larger offices, can work with larger pieces of paper, and therefore project to the year 2000 instead of cutting off at the year 1980.

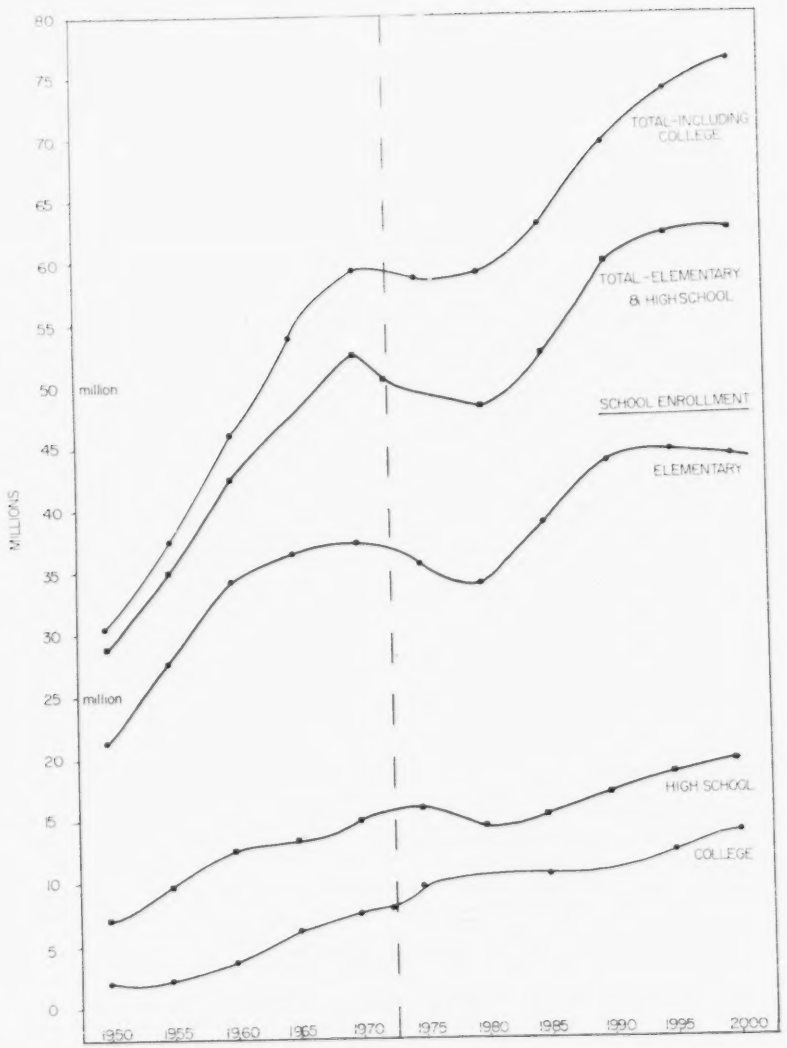
Statistics on U.S. population by single years of age, according to the 1970 census, shows the population to peak at about age 10. This will cause the teacher surplus to be alleviated by about 1985—and, if you look at the chart showing probabilities of birth projected to 1990, you will find that if the present steps recommended to curb teacher surplus are taken, there will be a *shortage* of teachers in 1990.

What The Future Holds

In the future, there will not only be a boom in the number of births causing a potential teacher shortage 15 to 20 years from now, but there will also be other fundamental changes within our society. The most fundamental change will be a change in the meaning of work. This change will occur for everyone, including teachers. Realistic planning has to take into account the implications that a change in the meaning of work has in terms of people's need to learn—not only as they develop as children, but after they have left school.

As a consequence of the changing meaning of work, there will be a re-organization of the current economic structure whereby jobs will be *task* oriented. There will be a breakdown in role structure in business and industry and people will be fulfilling a *task* rather than filling a role—and organizing their skills so that the task can be accomplished. This process will involve training and re-training. Not only will our schools have to prepare people for

The University Can't Train Teachers



Current Population Reports Source: 0.25, No. 475 Based on Census Bureau projections which use "moderate" assumptions as to the value of factors relating to population growth and school enrollment rates.

these kinds of jobs, but there will be a great need for people to train and retrain constantly in business and industry to organize the task-fulfilling process. For these reasons, teachers will become valuable to business and industry as well as being able to train—to teach people to do something.

The information and knowledge we now have will be communicated to people, whether it's in schools or in business or industry. Because of this, teachers will have to move in and out of the schools as the supply and demand will dictate.

Teaching as a True Profession

With these considerations in view, there is another way to look at the problem. The need for teachers grows and diminishes in a period of time that is briefer than the life career of a teacher. The training of teachers has to proceed at a pace unrelated to the current demand for teachers. As the demand is variable, the supply must also be variable.

Teaching and learning will be done increasingly outside a school setting. Teachers must, therefore, be able and willing to choose other careers when the demand for teachers in the school system is not large, and be ready to return to schools when the demand increases.

The solution demands that both for the sake of people who elect to be trained to teach and for society, there be vocational alternatives for teachers outside the school system that permit them to retain their teaching skills so that they can move into and out of schools.

There are two questions that need to be studied to plan action:

1. Is teaching a separable profession?

2. Are there opportunities other than schools for people who teach?

Supply Helps Create Demand for Lawyers

Let's start by looking for a model of a similar situation in another profession—lawyers. The analogy is suggested in *Human Resources in Higher Education* by Folger, Astin and Bayer:

> Of these seven fields, only in elementary and secondary school teaching and the arts does the output of colleges and universities appear to be adequate to the projected demand for graduates. In the arts fields, there is no evidence that a shortage of graduates has ever existed; in teaching, long considered a shortage occupation, the favorable supply-demand balance now developing will be clearly evident in three or four years. Law provides a special case; since law graduates can perform a wide variety of jobs, no measures of demand exist. The supply in this field helps to create the demand. If there is a larger supply, they will

probably all find employment; if fewer lawyers are produced, the jobs they now perform will be done in other ways.

What now is the challenge for colleges if they are able to recruit students and staff, to survive, and to accomodate to society? They will have to learn to teach people to teach as professionals in many settings and independent of structure. They need to communicate to young people that there are careers in many different fields available to them if they have training in education, including schools. And, they need to start now a program to communicate to industry, government and religious organizations the importance of utilizing professional teachers.

THE IDEA OF COMMUNITY AND THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS

Some participants defend the melting-pot conception of American society as having served as a way for most immigrants to achieve "middle-class status." Others say the melting-pot idea is a myth and that strong and powerful alternative institutions were formed and continue to exist for the protection of cultural identity. All agree that the community should have an input at all levels of the educational process including the training of teachers. The teachers and the schools should themselves be good models of humane adults and humane communities. Sizemore describes how, to secure this end, the Woodlawn Experimental School District set up a collective decision-making model called CAPTS (Community, Administrators, Parents, Teachers, Students) which attempted to involve the community in the decision-making process. (See also the description of New Rochelle's redesign system, p. 153, which involves the community in policy and funding planning.)

Spindler, who is aware of the separate streams of influence in American culture and the conflicts and contradictions that are a part of our value system, focuses on the unintended transmission in the classroom of cultural values that are at variance with the values of particular client-communities and which defeat the intended educational goals of society.

Spindler's concern that we understand the degree to which American public schools transmit the values and culture of a particular limited community is reflected in the Texas memorandum opinion concerning the San Felipe Del Rio school district. This opinion states that Mexican-American students are an identifiable ethnic group and as such are entitled to the protections given under the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Based on this decision several major school districts in eastern Texas were found to be operating and supporting segregated education systems. Perhaps the most important sentences in the decision are those relating to how cultures must relate if "integration" is to respect differences in human communities:

> Equally clear, however, is the need to avoid the creation of a stigma of inferiority. . . . To avoid this result the Anglo-American students too must be called upon to adjust to their Mexican-American classmates, and to learn to understand and appreciate their different linguistic and cultural attributes. The process by which all students participate in a joint learning and adjustment process will not only constitute an educational enrichment but, also, will bring the school system as a whole closer to that goal or state-of-being referred to by the Supreme Court as "unitary system." It is with this goal in mind, therefore—that of true integration as opposed to mere desegregation, or, as Texas news media are wont to term it, "racial mixing"—that the Court issued its major order. . . .

"The socio-economic background of a kid is a much greater determiner of how the youngster will read than the schools have ever been. . . . Perhaps the schools should be for whatever parents perceive them to be for: 'You teach my kid how to read; forget about his cultural background, forget about everything. I don't give a damn about that. You teach him to read. That's all I want out of you. Teach him how to communicate.' . . . Under the guise of helping people, we have sometimes destroyed them. Under the guise of 'meeting the needs of the culture,' we have destroyed the culture because we failed—the kid still can't read; he still can't communicate."

—Robert Spillane, see p. 36.

MR. CARDENAS:

I went to a school district that was implementing a bilingual education program and they had some 30 white Anglo Saxon teachers that were going to be taught Spanish so they could teach bilingually. I couldn't help pointing out there were already ten million Spanish speakers in the country. Why pay for this kind of a program when the United States has the fifth largest Spanish-speaking population in the world?

MR. OLSON:

I think one of the functions of the Study Commission might be to highlight such inanities. We have to get rid of a lot of what Ken Boulding calls "educational pollution." It is maybe a matter of deliberate cultural and political contrivance that non-Spanish-speaking teachers have been placed with Spanish-speaking students. A kind of conscious or unconscious sadism may be manifesting itself in that situation; an effort to disrupt the life of a group. If people can be made to understand that disruption is the net effect of the process and be held responsible as other disrupters are held responsible, this would be salutary. We have provided almost a hundred years of Sioux schooling with mostly non-Lakota-speaking teachers and have produced almost a hundred per cent dropout rate across the near century.

MR. SALMON:

There is an explanation for that. I can't defend it, but it has to do with the melting pot concept. When the Poles and the Dutch and the Germans and others came here, they came here voluntarily. We got many of those people to lose their culture,

and many of them wanted to. The Chicanos, the Sioux, the Blacks are in a different category. The Chicano was here; the Sioux was here; the Black was brought against his will. And they don't want to lose their culture.

Now, if you look at American education up until probably 1955 or 1960, the melting pot concept was the thing that was adhered to. I first worked with Chicanos. In fact, most of the teaching that I did, was with predominantly Chicano classes. The assumption was that we needed to adjust the kid to the culture if he was going to be successful. My big job was to keep Mexican kids from speaking Spanish. We had third generation Mexican kids coming to the Los Nietos School speaking Spanish, and we used to talk about what a horrible thing it was because we had taught their grandparents and we had taught their parents and now we had to teach them to speak English.

Our attitude may have been contrived by some big subversive force, but I don't think so. I think we operated from a model that worked relatively well for society at that time—a model that the whole school system generalized on. And we just weren't able to break the Sioux and the Chicanos and others away from their cultural roots.

MR. OLSON:

I want to attack your explanation; Joshua Fishman did some research on language loyalty in the United States;[1] one thing which he discovered is that a great many of us live double lives. We are middle Americans a good part of the time, and we are Swedes, Chicanos, Germans, Greeks, or whatever the rest of the time. The schools have never recognized that division in our lives; the schools in Nebraska deliberately broke most of the ethnic minorities around 1918, because rooted culture was subversion. If you spoke a nasty foreign language, you were undoubtedly in touch with Germany through the wireless. Some of the rural Czech districts preserved a linguistic and cultural autonomy longer, into the 1940's. Perhaps we are either rooted

[1] Joshua A. Fishman et. al., *Language Loyalty in the United States*, Humanities Press Inc., New York, 1967.

and happy about it or rootless and desperate. Perhaps no one is happy to be a middle American.

MR. SALMON:
I am.

MR. OLSON:
I doubt it.

MR. SALMON:
I am.

MR. OLSON:
You're the only person who is. We are glad that you are here.

MR. SALMON:
I just can't place a root anywhere other than in America. I don't have a root.

MR. OLSON:
But don't you have a connection to a place or town or a family or "local habitation and name."

MR. SPILLANE:
Not in this business; not the way we get canned as superintendents.

MR. SALMON:
It may not seem rational to you, and you have thought much more about this than I; but, it seems to me that when my wife's people came here, when my people came, when other people came here, that the school systems did make it possible for some people who were at the poverty level to gain a middle American status.

MR. CARDENAS:
Not so. Not so for my people. Look at Crystal City. Until 1946, no Mexican-Americans had ever enrolled in high school. The community is 85 per cent Mexican-Americans.

MR. SALMON:
Let me come back. You forgot what I said. I said that when people voluntarily came to this country there was a different idea about their relationship to the country than there was when they were here already or when they were brought against their will. I'll give you an example.

MR. CARDENAS:

You are classifying the Chicano as a person that was here already or that was brought here involuntarily, and it isn't so. My grandfather came here voluntarily. My mother came here voluntarily.

MR. SALMON:

Okay.

MR. CARDENAS:

Well, my ancestors were placed in Mexico "involuntarily" but they came to the United States voluntarily.

MR. SALMON:

Let me see if I can explain that. You have a cultural root from Mexico into Texas, and there is a free flow back and forth. There was not such a flow with the Germans and the Poles and the Czechs. They left their roots behind permanently to gain "middle class" status. The poverty known by these people was a poverty which they could only meet by immigrating and changing their ways; and by many economic standards, they were successful.

MR. CARDENAS:

But look at the price they paid.

MS. SIZEMORE:

The immigrant groups had to establish alternative institutions to protect their cultural identity from the onslaught of the public school systems: e.g. the Hebrew schools. Separatism is not indigenous to Blacks or Indians. It started with Irish Catholics and immigrant Europeans—hypenated-American groups—who came over here and clung to their institutions as a protection against the hostile environment of the alien culture.

The next stage in their development was a nationalistic stage. This was when hyphenated-American mights, rites, and rituals came together to create associations and organizations. These in turn created institutions for the reinforcement of the hyphenated-separatist base to keep the group hanging together so it could develop "people power." In the Jewish group you have this still today. Jewish people have 250 watchdog associations, or-

ganizations, institutions in the city of Chicago alone. They have these groups to watchdog the Irish Catholics. The Jewish people have to do this to be sure that the Jews get places of employment—to protect their interests. Otherwise, the Irish Catholic would take it all.

The two most powerful organizing dynamics that man knows are religion and nationalism. Once a hyphenated-American group gets a tight organization, then it develops a little thing that Erikson calls the negative identity; you take what is bad about yourself and attribute it to someone else. Consider the Puritans. They brought the whisky and the guns and gave them to the Indians. And when the Indians got drunk and shot off the guns, they said, "Look at those drunk violent heathens." Negative identity projects what is bad about oneself off on the "other." Through working through the stages of alternative institutions, nationalism, and consolidation of power through negative identification, the immigrant groups developed work blocs and economic blocks and pulled their people up into national institutions of power.

One work bloc that really fascinates me is a Japanese-American bloc. They have found a job, that pays about $5 an hour. You don't have to know how to speak English or write English or anything. It is in the egg producing industry where they need to know immediately what the sex of a chicken is and all you have to know is to flip over that little furry yellow ball in the first two days and say it is a hen. The job depends on an ethnic in-secret nobody else knows. In Chicago, we have whole unions that are dominated by ethnic groups. You have to be a Polish-American to get in to the steamfitters; and if you can't show your ancestral papers, you are no good.

A man from one of the cities in New York had just read Robert Dahl's book, *Who Governs?;* he denied the book's thesis—that ethnicity is still alive in the U.S.A. He said, "That's not true. We are absorbed into the culture; we gave up our culture." I had the chance to visit him the next year. I walked into his beautiful Italian household and ate Italian food and drank Italian wine. Guess what kind of music they played all day long.

Late in the day, his mother came in and spoke. I thought, "What kind of language is that? I thought you lost your culture." He was replying to his mother in Italian. His Italian pattern was not given up.

Once a group has built economic foundations for its people, then it is ready to form voting and other coalitions. This last stage is what I call the pluralistic stage; an ethnic group is ready to operate within the economic arrangements and institutions in the country which give the illusion that the group has really been assimilated. All the group has really done is consolidate its people power and translated it to land power so that it can operate as an equal group in parity with other groups that have power. This happened in city after city, independent of the schools.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

I wanted to add one more thing: In the late 19th century the dominant society's motivation for extending public education, when stripped of all the rhetoric about the melting pot, was essentially economic. The aim was to fill industry's need for a mass of workers who would keep the machines going and who would accept certain dominant cultural values, e.g. the value of work and knowing their place. Melting pot rhetoric was a convenient mask for placing newly arrived immigrants in predetermined niches: to make them functional in the society, to make the society work as dominant people wanted it to work.

MR. OLSON:

My grandfather was a Swedish sharecropper who was a kind of pacifist as I understand it. He probably hated the King and didn't much want to serve in the King's army. He came to this country because he felt he could make it within the industrial agricultural system of the country. He was willing to make the compromises necessary to survival on a Nebraska farm. But he never wanted his kids to go to school beyond grade school. He looked askance at my father when he went away to high school. My grandfather escaped from a semi-slave economy and viewed his Nebraska farm as freedom.

For the Indians and Black people, the process was reversed in that the effect of the American system on them was to take away their relatively self-determined agrarian economy and substitute a plantation system—that of the South or of the BIA. There hasn't been much pretense that the system served them.

MR. FOSTER:

As the European groups were carving out their economic power base, they made it very clear to Blacks and the Chicanos and the Indians that the avenue of carrying out one's own power base was not open to them. Now, after it's all been carved out and the power has been distributed, then these same groups turn to the Black and Chicano and say, "Why don't you pull yourself up by the bootstraps the way we did?" You see, we didn't *want* them in before; they were excluded.

MR. SPILLANE:

It seems to me that what Paul Salmon is saying, I understand. What Dick Foster is saying I also understand. That both can say what they say is probably part of the problem; there are many people in the dominant white culture who wanted to get rid of any ethnic identification because they didn't want any. What some white people can't understand, and what even I only learned after I became somewhat of age, is that the Navajo Indian doesn't really want to be like me. He has a tribal society and wants to the death to preserve his culture. And people really don't understand that in this country. Many of us still think of the Indian as not coming into the melting pot because he *can't*. He doesn't come because he doesn't *want* to.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

What is a school's relationship to a community, and how can it function as a kind of community? We have to keep that concern a central one. Much of the talk about competency, and much of the talk about input and output, tends to be much too individualized. It tends to focus on what the individual teacher does. The model is very often a model of an individual teacher locked up with a room full of kids, a model which has a bias towards looking at "individual outcomes"—what *a* kid learns—rather than looking at a kid as part of some kind of community,

learning skills as a functioning member of a community. Some of the skills which the children need to learn are going to be directly political skills directed toward the problem of redistributing power: redistributing power in the school, or, redistributing power in a local situation as a piece of a larger problem, redistributing power in the society.

If you begin to think about the school as a kind of community and then ask what kinds of adults can really help make that community into a humane and powerful kind of community, you will then begin to ask what kinds of training and experiences can help produce those adults. To think in such a way makes a bit more sense to me.

We tend to learn from the way other people behave, not merely from what they say. That has a couple of implications for teacher training. No matter what kind of picture we have in our heads of what a student ought to look like, it seems to me the adults in contact with the students have to be examples of that model. If we talk about teaching kids problem solving or the skills of political action, then the adults that they work with on a regular basis have to embody those skills. The Study Commission has to talk about a training process or program that can help produce those adults. That to me has a very direct implication for undergraduate teacher education, because most colleges, as they are presently structured, are so shot through with dysfunctional models of teaching, that I am very skeptical as to the quality of teacher education that they can be expected to provide.

If a good school is a humane community, it also must bear a humane relationship to its surrounding community. By a humane relationship, I mean one that helps perpetuate the culture of that community and that places value on cultural diversity. Simply having Black teachers in a Black school is not good in itself unless it's directly connected to a notion of what the function of the school is.

MS. SIZEMORE:

If the community indicates a need, then how does this get to the teacher training institution so that it grasps this fundamental

concern of the community and execute it so that that kind of school is permitted. I'm saying that the community should participate at all levels in decision making. I use the CAPTS, (Community, Administrators, Parents, Teachers, Students) model so that everybody is included.

I am also saying that if language is important to human community, then a person's native language should be important in its educational process, in the sort of school you describe. If my teacher cannot understand my question, which is the basis of my learning, then that teacher cannot communicate with me in my basic areas of concern.

MR. OLSON:

It was once thought by the Sioux people that the Bureau of Indian Affairs would not allow the Sioux people to teach in the BIA. And then they found that there were lots of Sioux people in the BIA, but, the Sioux people were all teaching on the Navajo reservation in Texas or anywhere but in Sioux territory. The BIA logic was very explicit. It may be useful to look at BIA practice as a kind of emblem of some other American practice. The logic, as I perceive it, was that one was dealing with people who needed to be civilized. If one had a Sioux person who had finished the schools, then he had been civilized. But, if he were to return to his own community, the community would drag him down, so that he would once more become less than fully civilized —what he had achieved as a graduate. The schools not only didn't encourage the teacher who was also the culture bearer to come into the classroom, but they rather explicitly avoided the teacher who could perform that function. The consequence was that none of the teachers spoke Lakota or knew the rituals, festivals, religion or fundamental institutions of the Sioux.

One American anthropologist who made a study of the Pine Ridge schools has argued that, even in such repressive situations, there is no such thing as a school which isn't controlled by its community. The children as a group come into the classroom and learn sooner or later how to take over the school. In some communities, they learn noncooperation or by violence or disrup-

tive activity to take over. The Sioux children learn silence to disrupt the process which is disrupting their lives.

MR. SPILLANE:

We don't have data on that sort of thing. Do people want the schools to "bear their culture"? Here we are in splendid isolation determining what people want and need. I don't think we know what people want. What are the schools for?

MR. SCHWARTZ:

That's a value question.

MR. SPILLANE:

Is it of value for us to make the assumption that the "culture bearing" school is good for people? Let's find out. Let's find out what the schools are for and what they should be for. What are the goals of "school"?

MR. OLSON:

There is no such thing as gathering value-free data.

MR. SPILLANE:

We are in a position to determine what to perpetuate. The schools have failed for certain kids. The socio-economic background of a kid is a much greater determiner of how the youngster will read than the schools have ever been. Now, we are trying—we are going—to predetermine *what the schools should be for* without really recognizing, first of all, the schools' failure and then checking with the people as to what the school should be for. Perhaps the schools should be for whatever parents perceive them to be for: "You teach my kid how to read; forget about his cultural background, forget about everything. I don't give a damn about that. You teach him to read. That's all I want out of you. Teach him how to communicate."

My picture is a very simplified picture; it involves a very real critique of our present conversation. Under the guise of helping people, we have sometimes destroyed them. Under the guise of "meeting the needs of the culture," we have destroyed the culture because we failed—the kid still can't read; he still can't communicate.

MR. CARDENAS:

Let me turn that around and say if you have no regard for the culture you can't teach the child to read.

MR. SPILLANE:

Ms. Sizemore—would you describe the Woodlawn Experimental School Project? I have heard of it, but I must express my ignorance.

MS. SIZEMORE:

First, it was a Title III project created as an experiment involving broad based citizen participation in policy-making. It was not an experimental project in community control because the definition of "community control" in that community was that the power would be transferred from the central board to the local board and this would mean control over financing, teacher hiring and firing, *et cetera.* This power was never transferred. The Chicago Board of Education had complete approval-veto power so that Woodlawn was an experiment in decentralization involving broad based citizen participation with no transfer of power.

The model used for this collective decision making was called CAPTS: C for community, A for administrators, P for parents, T for teachers, and S for students. Each group was to meet autonomously, at the initial stage, and place their demands as to the Woodlawn Experimental School District. There were three schools: the Wadsworth Elementary, the Wadsworth Upper Grade Center, and Hyde Park High School, with approximately 3,000 students. It was a complete system. In this negotiation process, compromise was excluded as a viable concept, because the students had no organizational base or power base. Therefore, they had nothing to give up.

MR. SPILLANE:

How many students were involved?

MS. SIZEMORE:

Approximately 3,200. Other groups that had a power base could opt for the least of the students' demands; that is the

least that could come of it in a negotiation process. And so they could never be complete losers. That was step one.

After this negotiation process occurred in the CAPTS Congress, the plans or demands or needs stated—whatever the Congress wanted to call them—were given to the professional bureaucracy to form into an educational program. Then these programs were sent to the administrative staff for allocation of funds, space, *et cetera.* Finally, their plans were sent to the Woodlawn Community Board for a recommendation, either acceptance or rejection.

The Woodlawn Community Board had 21 members. Originally seven were from the University of Chicago, seven from The Woodlawn Organization, which was a community organization, and seven from the Chicago Public Schools. The second year the University of Chicago gave up three of its seats to the community and The Woodlawn Organization had ten. And, the University of Chicago had four. The Chicago Public Schools had seven. The Chicago Public Schools also gave up four of their seats in a sense, because two of those seats were given to students of Hyde Park High School and two to the teachers in the district. So this board then could either accept the plan or reject it. If it accepted the plan, then it went to the Chicago Board of Education for approval or veto. If the plan didn't impinge upon the plans of the Chicago Board of Education, then it didn't have to be approved by the board. If it did, it had to be approved before it came back down.

The program was evaluated by the CAPTS Congress. In other words, students evaluated teachers and teachers evaluated students and programs. Parents and community representatives also evaluated the program. This was the policy-making structure that we tried to utilize during the three years of the project. That was really the heart of the program.

Now the primary objective was to restructure the social system in two ways. One was to change roles and relationships within the school; the second was to change the roles and relationships in the community. The project was not only concerned

with who worked together, but with *how* they worked together.

Now, some secondary objectives were expected—better education, the creation of a sense of power, improved self-concepts.

The second point that I am trying to make has to do with the kind of community which this process created. The CAPTS program improved the teacher programs; the necessity for collective decision-making appears over and over, especially in the areas of the oppressed and colonized. Oppressed people in this country are saying, "We want to make the decisions in the institutions that affect the lives of our children and our people in order to enhance our life chances in the economic institutions in this country."

Present teacher training in Higher Education is not preparing teachers for that kind of decision making. Teacher training institutions continue to support the traditional hierarchical authoritarian kind of decision-making structure. And the teacher training institutions themselves practice that kind of decision-making structure. They expound pipe dreams about democratic process; on the other hand, they practice a sort of dictatorial authoritarianism and pass it on to teachers who, as is well known, have a tendency to teach school as they were taught, and further support this archaic process.

MR. SALMON:
Were these on-going schools when they were put into the project? Did the staffing of these schools remain the same?

MS. SIZEMORE:
The teacher had a right to leave.

MR. SALMON:
How many did?

MR. OLSON:
Quite a few.

MS. SIZEMORE:
Quite a few in the high school; not too many in the elementary, but in the high school there was an additional problem that the

principal wasn't too flexible and did not really practice the collective decision-making model to the extent that the teachers felt that she should. And, much of the teacher mobility in that school rested on the teacher-administrator problem rather than the teacher-project problem.

MR. SALMON:
Did the replacements come in on a volunteer basis or did they come from teacher training institutions or from —

MS. SIZEMORE:
They came from the central board.

MR. SALMON:
From the Chicago board?

MS. SIZEMORE:
All teachers had a right to say, "I don't want to participate in the project."

MR. SALMON:
You were indicating that you felt the teachers weren't trained for this kind of role, yet you had a process going which, in a sense, I think, fulfilled this index. How did you train the teachers?

MS. SIZEMORE:
We had an in-service component which was in charge of all of the teachers' in-service training. We had a teacher-training community component which was in charge of all parent councils. We also had a research and evaluation component. The project was a constant in-service process, working with teachers to achieve the goals of the project.

The Transmission of American Culture[1]

George D. Spindler[2]

The transmission of American culture and the teacher as a cultural transmitter are the subjects of this chapter. Within this framework the analysis will center on the unintended, unanticipated consequences of cultural transmission in schools in our society that are at variance with the intended goals of transmission.

This is one of the less well illuminated areas of educational practice and conceptualization. Discrepancies between intended educational goals and what is actually transmitted are present in curriculum design, in the literature of textbooks and teaching aids, and in classroom procedure. They permeate all phases of the student-teacher relationship, the professional education of teachers, and the very subculture of education.

The treatment of processes within this focus must be exploratory and incomplete, for there is so much that is unknown. But the problem is important. With more knowledge of the ways in which the goals of education can be defeated in the very process of education, we may achieve better control over the results of education.

Transmission of Conflicts in Culture

The discrepancies and conflicts between intent and outcome, between ideal and real that the teacher transmits to children in any classroom must originate in the culture. As Theodore Brameld has demonstrated so well in his book, *The Cultural Foundations of Education*, the educator must look beyond the schools and the people in them to the cultural context of education, in order to understand the problems and aspirations of education.

The American culture is dynamic and is composed of many once-separate streams of cultural influence. It is adapting to radical changes in the human environment. It is now, and for some time has been, a culture notable for the conflicts woven into the very fabric of its value system. We place a traditional value upon thrift, but we appear to believe even more strongly in the value of keeping up good appearances that depend upon mortgages and installment payments, which make thrift impossible as we play the game according to the rules of the American Dream. We believe in deferring satisfactions to the future but want the benefits of deferment now. We believe that success is to be won by hard work, but emphasize "personality" and social contacts as means

[1] This article is an abridgement of an article by George D. Spindler entitled "Education in a Transforming American Culture," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. XXV, Summer 1955, pp. 145-156. Copyright 1955 by President and Fellows of Harvard College.

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to getting ahead. We laud honesty as a virtue but acknowledge the primacy of pragmatic expedience in real life. We are egalitarian in ideal and in much of our practice, but indulge in wide-ranging and destructive expressions of invidious prejudice. We deny sexuality but titillate ourselves with sex in our mass media, dress, and imagery. Our culture is patterned in conflicts that in part mirror the struggle between the puritan ethic and the demands and opportunities of an industrializing society of abundance. And we are undergoing the confused transformation from traditional to emergent values that I have already described and will apply further in this analysis.

When I discuss the transmission of conflicts and discrepancies in our classrooms I am not, therefore, simply blaming the teacher. If the teacher is a cultural transmitter and if teachers have experienced and, in some degree, internalized the conflicts in values described, it is probable they will transmit them to children. But it is equally important to avoid the error of assuming that because these conflicts and discrepancies are present in our culture they "should" be transmitted. If we accept this proposition, we accept the defeat and contradiction of many of our declared goals.

To illustrate concretely what is meant . . . I would like to use one of my own case studies of teachers and their classrooms.

The cultural transmitter in this case was a highly respected teacher in a large elementary school, who had certain duties as a counselor. He originated from a respectable immigrant family and had improved his social status during his lifetime by becoming a school teacher. The particular situation from which I have extracted certain verbatim records to follow was one of the "rites of passage" that occur now and then throughout the educational life cycle of children. The students in the eighth grade were being prepared for the choice of programs in high school and were making out proposed study lists under his guidance. The class group consisted of thirty-five children, twenty-four of whom were Mexican-Americans. The range of scores on the California Mental Maturity test was 80 to 120, with a median of 102. There was a broadly corresponding variety of reading and academic achievement represented in the group. I will present a few items from the verbal interaction of the teacher-counselor and the students.

T: You must be a good citizen, or they won't accept you. Now, what do you need to get into Orthodox State College? *(Children raise hands, repeat answers previously learned.)* What do you need to get into Junior College? *(Students respond likewise.)*

T: In arranging your programs for next year, there are certain things that everyone must take, so we'll just put them down. You will all take P.E., English, and Social Studies. *(Teacher writes these down on the board opposite numbers 1, 2, and 3.)* Now you have to decide whether you want to take Algebra or not. You have to take math all the way through high school if you want to be an engineer. Now, if you've gotten B's and C's all the way through eighth grade,

what are your chances of doing well in ninth grade Algebra? *(Students murmur various things.)* That's right! Not so good! So what can you do?

S: Try to raise your grade.

T: Yes.

S: Work harder.

T: That's one thing. But what else? . . . Do like I did when I wanted to be a singer but found I couldn't sing. What did I do? Yes . . . that's right; I changed my plans . . . With respect to language, how many here speak Spanish? *Six of the Mexican-Americans raised their hands, but all speak some Spanish.)* It will help you if you do. But you have to realize that there is some work to do—homework! It is good to take Spanish if you want to go on to college and need a language. But you can't take Spanish and General Business. They come at the same period. Now, one of the things you have to do is to be neat and orderly. If you aren't good at that it might be hard for you until you learn to do it better.

T: Now here we have Mechanical Drawing. This is exclusively a boy's class. I don't know why some girls couldn't take it if they wanted to. But only boys take it. Now Home-making is for girls, so you can take that.

T: Now when you come to see me, if I tell you to take General Business instead of Spanish, it should be understood that you don't have to take it. You can do as you wish. But it means that I think you will do better in General Business. *(Several more subject choices are covered.)*

T: And here is typing. It looks interesting when you pass the typing room, doesn't it? But do you know there aren't any letters on those keyboards? You have to watch a chart at the front of the room, and if you look at the keyboard, you fail!

Bias in Cultural Transmission

Of course a great deal more went on during this hour of counseling. I have purposefully selected those verbal items that constitute the most clear indications of bias in cultural transmission. And this is always unfair to the cultural transmitter. But I believe the extracted items accurately reveal persistent trends in his counseling of the mixed Mexican-American and Anglo-groups in the eighth grade.

After this particular class session, the teacher-counselor said, "This is a passive group. There is no spark in there. The better groups get quite excited about this. Of course, most of the better groups are college-preparatory and perhaps only three or four of these students will go to college." Previous to the session, in his statement of educational philosophy, he had commented, "I believe that our job is to make the most of the potential of each child. Of course there is a wide range of ability among our students. A good many of them will never go on to college. And we have to do the best we can to help them on to a satisfactory adjustment."

He was defeating his own aims in the way he handled this crucial rite of passage, this point of compression in the relation of the child and his culture where choices made affect future development decisively. He opened the gates to valued channels of development and then shut them in the children's faces. And he did not open the gates to any alternative channels. What he transmitted, it seems to me, was that the only worthwhile goal was to go to college so that one could become an engineer or something equivalent, that if the child did not have the necessary qualifications there was no other dignified and worthy choice, and that most of the members of this class group did not have the necessary qualifications.

If this person were a small, mean individual with explicit prejudices, and if he were not concerned with making the most of the potential of each child I would be less concerned. But he is not small and mean. He is a generous, well-intended person, and believes in democratic opportunity. In his counseling he projects his own struggle to improve his status, mirrors the discrepancy in our culture between ideal and real in the definition of opportunity, and inadvertently defeats his own professed aims.

The Acculturation of the School Teacher

What has been established so far is that our culture is one in which conflicts in values, and between goals and the means to them, are present and patterned. And that teachers, as cultural transmitters, convey these patterned conflicts to children in their classrooms, with the consequence that many professed goals are defeated, or at least obscured. It should also be clear that I have not been castigating teachers. They are the agents of their culture.

A further step must be taken if we are to see the full meaning and scope of the problem. Teachers are a special group. They are not selected at random as official culture transmitters; they are trained and accredited to that status and role. They must take courses in educational psychology, the social foundations of education, curriculum design, philosophy and history of education, the methods of education, and must do supervised practice teaching. In short, they must attend teacher-training institutions and graduate with the stamp of approval from the established professional cadre. But professional educational instruction and training consist not only of courses and training in techniques. Every institution with a history and internal organization and a specialized personnel has a culture or, more properly, a subculture. Certain values, symbols, beliefs, and certain basic premises are patterned into the structure and process of the institution. The institutions of professional education—the teacher-training schools and the literature of education—are no exception.

At this point it is necessary to refer back to the traditional and emergent value patterns. The traditional pattern includes emphasis on thrift, self-denial, faith in the future, a strong emphasis on success and a belief that hard work was the means to it, absolute moral norms, and a strong value placed upon

sociability, sensitivity to the feelings of others, a relativistic attitude, a present-time orientation, and high value placed upon the group.

The dynamic process of greatest relevance to us at the moment is the relationship between the culture that the school teacher brings to the professional teacher-training institution subculture and the patterning of that subculture, the adaptation that the teacher-in-training makes to this patterning and the consequences in selective culture transmission in the classroom.

This is a complex relationship with many subtle ramifications. Since an understanding of it is essential to the logic of the analysis to follow, I will restate and expand the argument. It is well established that the majority of public school teachers originate from a middle and lower-middle social class culture. The value pattern that I have termed "traditional" is probably found in this cultural context in its most pure form. To the extent this is so, it means that whatever selective processes are operating tend to bring many people of traditionalistic value orientation into teacher-training.

'Emergent' Pattern Trends

The question that the anthropologist raises is—what are the characteristics of the subculture of the teacher-training instituion to which these students bring their traditional orientations? Analysis of a sample of some of the influential literature of curriculum design for elementary education reveals that there is present a strong value bias that fits in general terms the "emergent" pattern. The literature of child development and educational psychology reveals some of the same trends. Interpretations of the social behavior of boys and girls,, intended for educational consumption, provide both implicit and explicit value judgments in the same pattern. The popularity of sociometric techniques is diagnostic of this orientation. The topical content of many of our teacher-training courses suggests it as well.

The basic premise underlying the specific emergent values is that what is most important is the social adjustment of the child. His place in the group, the responses of his peers to him, his ability to get along well, to work and play with others are penultimate concerns. This is not bad by any means. The emphasis on social adjustment is the educator's attempt to meet the demands of a new kind of society, where this kind of adjustment is of vital importance. When balanced by a concern for individual differences, by support for the deviating child, the creative student, intellectual development, and the acquisition of cognitive skills, and wher it does not become a form of "groupism," this emphasis on social adjustment is a possible compensatory process for some of the more harshly competitive anxiety-arousing patterns of our culture.

But the point is that however understandable and useful the emphasis may be, this pattern of values incorporated in the ethos of professional education is frequently at variance with what the new teacher-in-training brings into the situation. The neophyte in training must reorient his value system wherever the conflict in values is encountered.

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A Case Study Illustration

To illustrate further what is meant, another case study that is representative of others we have made of elementary school teachers and their classrooms will be presented. . . .

This fifth-grade teacher is a young man of twenty-five. He originates from a clearly traditionalistic middle-class family. His father is an executive of middle rank in a wholesale business organization and belongs to the usual service and fraternal organizations. His mother is college educated and active in the League of Women Voters. His father is not college educated and achieved his position by hard work. Both parents like to play bridge. They belong to the country club and own a summer cottage where the subject spent many happy hours as a boy. Twice during the subject's lifetime the family moved to more expensive homes in better neighborhoods.

The subject likes to play golf, drinks socially but moderately, attends the Methodist church, and reads the local newspaper, *Reader's Digest*, and the *Saturday Evening Post*. He aspires to be a school administrator and regards his teaching experiences as preparation for that role. He is a pleasant, good-looking young man who appears somewhat constrained but not visibly anxious. He is well liked by his colleagues and is rated as one of the outstanding young teachers in the school system.

His professed aims in teaching, beyond the management of instruction so that his students acquire the requisite knowledge, are to bring out creativity to the maximum ability of each child, help children to express themselves clearly and help children to learn how to get along with each other. He states that he tries to give every student in his class a chance to participate. He prides himself particularly on being fair and just with all the children. He says explicitly that every student gets a "fair break" in his classroom. He tries to understand them. His statements about his aims and his relations with his students are consistent with what his principal, his supervisor, and the members of the central staff of the school system say about him.

He told me that many of his teacher-training courses were "a waste of time." In probing this blanket indictment of professional educational preparation as he experienced it I discovered that he was dismayed and upset by certain points of view that he perceived as consistently appearing in his course work. He felt that his preceptors were trying "to give the school to the children," that they were more concerned with how children adjusted than what they learned, and that his instructors stressed cooperation, or at least group harmony, at the expense of competition. All of this he lumps together under the label "progressive education," which he rejects with feeling, but which he is content to leave as an unanalyzed abstraction.

He originated from a family culture where the traditional values previously described apparently existed in virtually pure form. He encountered the emergent-oriented values of the professional teaching subculture. He sensed the

conflict, felt the threat, rejected the threatening alternatives, and sought refuge in the shelter of his original values.

The further presentation of data on this teacher and his classroom will include a few items selected from a considerable mass of information. We worked together for many months, and his file is extensive. But these few items will establish the pattern that permeated many of the interrelationships between him and his students.

Form for Each Student

One of our standard practices in case studies is to ask the teacher to fill out a form titled "Information Concerning the Student." It includes items on academic and social adjustment in the child's previous school, his home situation, approximate I.Q. test performance, special interests, hobbies, health history, his ambitions and plans for the future. The teacher is requested to fill out this form for each student without recourse to written records. He is scored on the number of items of information. A perfect score, indicating highest knowledge, would be ten.

This teacher averaged 3.2 for the forms filled out on all of his thirty-three students, which is lower, on the average, than the score attained by other teachers in our sample. The mean of his knowledge concerning children in his group originating from families of highest socio-economic status was 4.9. His mean score for those of lowest status was 2.8. It is apparent that some bias is operating that tends to contradict his professed aims.

He was asked to list the names of those students in his class that he considered to be the best adjusted—emotionally and socially. Of the seven children he listed as best adjusted only one child was included who originated from a family of less than middle-class status, and this child exhibited strong status-achievement drives. He was also asked to list the names of those students whom he considered least well adjusted. Of these seven children, only one came from a middle-class setting. The other six were from families of lower-class or special ethnic status. It is possible, of course, that he was correct in his appraisal, even from a psychiatric point of view. Other evidence concerning the behavior of these children indicates that he was not accurate in a number of instances. For our purposes at the moment what is significant is that the same bias in perception is revealed in this as was exhibited in his knowledge about students.

He was asked to list the 25 per cent of his class group with whom he thought he had the most effective relationship. He listed eight children, and of these eight, five were from families of middle-class social status. He was also asked to list the 25 per cent of his group with whom he felt he had the least effective relationship. All but one of these children were from families of lower-class status. Other evidence indicates that in this instance he appraised the situation more or less accurately. The pattern of selective perception, of differential

bias in his interrelationships with children in his class group is, however, strengthened.

Names Most Popular Students

He was requested to name those children who were the most popular with or most accepted by their classmates. He listed eight, only one of whom represented a lower-class position. In only three instances did he name the same children that the students themselves did, according to sociometric information collected from the class. He was also asked to name those children to whom nobody in the class paid much attention. He listed six children, two of whom were middle-class origin. The other four were from families of lower-class status. In four instances his perceptions matched those of the classroom group, but there were ten comparatively isolated children in that group, according to the sociometric data collected from the class. Of this ten, five were children originating from middle-class backgrounds, four of whom he missed in his appraisal. Again, there is a clear pattern of selective bias in his perception of the children in his classroom. It is difficult for him to implement his professed aims in the context of this pattern.

A few excerpts from anecdotal and verbatim records will strengthen the interpretation. One boy, who was quite isolated in the interaction among the boys in the class and who chose only girls in his own responses to a sociometric questionnaire was described by the teacher as a "real go-getter, (possessing) one of the most magnetic personalities of any young child I have ever known. He has a very warm personality—truthful, sincere, with a good sense of humor. Tom gets along well with anyone, anywhere." This boy sometimes brought sample bottles of hair tonic, shoe polish, simple toys and gadgets to class in a small suitcase and tried to sell them to the other children. One day when I was observing, he was allowed to "make his pitch" before the class. He was, indeed, a motivated, magnetic, salesman, and probably will go far. The teacher apparently perceived only this attribute—one that is congruent with some of his own achievement drives and their precedents in his family models. There is much else about this child that he needed to know in order to guide his development effectively.

In another instance of the same type the teacher described one girl as having a "horrible personality" . . . egoistic, insincere, false. She never has a nice word to say about anyone but herself. I don't particularly care for Charlotte." She was the friendship choice of the "star-of-attraction"—the girl most frequently chosen as a friend by the other girls in their sociometric responses. She was observed to interact effectively with most of the other girls. She had a high rating in status-reputation data collected from the class. She came from a broken home in a lower-class setting.

Approval of Middle-Class Values

In his response to oral reports by the children about what they were reading in their spare time, his gestures, comments and silences were all patterned

in the framework of the same selective bias. He communicated approval of most of what the children of middle-class origins said, and of what they were reading.

I have almost too much data on this teacher and his classroom, and have had to struggle against the inclination to continue with examples that all substantiate the same pattern of bias and selective perception in his relationships with his students. He interacted effectively with only a minority segment of his classroom group—that segment which matched his own aspirations and values, derived from his own cultural setting. He opened doors for this selected group to channels of development they were already heading toward, and he sped them on their way. But for the larger number of his students, those who did not match his values and aspirations, he closed doors and left them waiting in the foyer of our culture.

Analysis of all the data collected about this teacher and his operations in the classroom leads to the conclusion that his consistent selective bias was in part due to his own cultural background. But this pattern was accentuated by his reactive adjustment to the conflict between the culture he brought with him when he entered professional training to become a teacher and the special subculture he encountered there.

His exercise of the role of cultural transmitter was in contradiction to his own professed aims, and even to his own beliefs about what he actually did in the classroom. He was not giving all children an opportunity to participate; he did not understand their problems; he was not being fair and just to all his students; they were not all getting a "fair break." All these aims and beliefs were contradicted by his highly selective positive interaction with a small segment of his class. He was wearing cultural blinders that limited his perceptions to a single channel. His transmitting apparatus was sending out positive signals only to that segment responding within the frequency of that single channel.

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Cultural Therapy

We cannot let the matter rest there. It is true that the teacher is activating a precedent cultural condition in the process of transmission. It is also true that because this is so, changes are difficult to bring about, since the problem is of extraordinary scope. The total structure of our society and the patterning of our culture is involved. But because this is a problem in cultural process, I am going to propose a first step in solution that I will term "cultural therapy."

I did not describe my role in the teacher case studies used for illustrative purposes. This role has a direct bearing upon the notion of "cultural therapy." I was a member of a team that had a dual purpose—to collect case study data on the basic processes of education and to work in a close relationship with our teacher cases to improve their professional competence. We made

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no effort to select "problem" cases, and neither of these I have cited were defined as such. We merely operated on the assumption that all teachers were interested in improving their professional competence. Each member of the team took responsibility for certain cases, but we consulted with each other throughout both the research and consultative phases of the studies.

In the consultative phase of all cases we fed back to the teacher the data we had collected in the research phase. The completeness, timing, sequence, and interpretation of this "feed-back" differed for each case. Some teachers can tolerate their objective image more easily than others. The fifth-grade teacher was one who had a surprising capacity for such objective feedback. He was very interested in improving his professional competence, partly because he was an ambitious man and partly because he was a person who sincerely wanted to do the best he could for the children in his classes.

Over a period of several months I presented data to him and tried to guide him more or less gently to a broadened cultural perspective on himself, his students, and his teaching. At times, this being a mutual and cooperative relationship, he guided me, and in doing so contributed to my understanding of process in cultural transmission. We explored together his cultural background, his experience in the teacher-training institution, and the specific ways in which the dynamics resultant from this combination of cultural influences were expressed in his selective response to his students. Sometimes he was chagrined, sometimes depressed and self-doubting, sometimes angered, but always intensely interested and frequently very surprised. As a result, his perspective and understanding were broadened significantly, and he was able to interact more effectively with the broad cultural range represented by his students. He was able to do so because he had acquired a knowledge of his own cultural position, its influence upon him, the cultural range of his students, and his selective relationships within this range. I do not think he underwent a significant change in personality. It was not my intent, at least, to effect such a change. He did undergo a change in his cultural scope.

'Cultural Shock' Experienced

The use of the values-projective techniques in my education classes, and the analysis of data revealed by them in those classes, is an attempt to provide cultural therapy before the cultural patterns are activated in the classroom. I have no direct measure of their effectiveness. Students tell me, and give evidence in their behavior, of having experienced "cultural shock." They are able to place themselves in the matrix of values revealed in the analysis, and presumably are able to anticipate some of the ways in which their position may be a determinant in their exercise of the teacher's role, since this process is treated at length in class discussions and documented with many illustrations.

In both procedures—the "feedback" process in cooperative case studies and in the cultural analysis in the social foundations courses—the essential feature is that culture is treated as a third person. What I mean by this is that we are not dissecting the teacher's or the student's personalities; we are dissecting "culture." The teacher's culture varies from the culture of others, but all variations reflect and are a part of the larger cultural context in which we all function. This makes a certain objectivity possible, which is usually impossible when the issue becomes more personal and the individual's emotional defenses are more directly aroused. The object of cultural therapy sees that his problem is not unique to him. It is shared in some degree with all of his colleagues—as a matter of fact, with everyone in his society. The "therapist" and the subject thus have the problem in common of understanding better how culture operates in and through all of us.

Cultural therapy is one direct measure we can take in our teacher-training programs to help reduce the self-defeating effect of cultural transmission in American schools. I hesitate to suggest the case study method as a direct measure because it takes a great deal of work to produce an effect on a single case. I am not optimistic about the probability that either approach will become wide-spread in the immediate future. We do not have the trained personnel to act as therapists. At this point I am not about to suggest that every teacher training institution start hiring anthropo'ogists. Most anthropo'ogists do not want to become therapists, even cultural therapists; they have other necessary and pressing work to do, and there are not enough to go around anyhow. With some help, the trainers of teachers can perform this function themselves, and the growing literature contributed by educators on the social and cultural process in American schools is an indication that this is already taking place.

Some Unresolved Dilemmas

Any highly schematic but exploratory analysis of the kind I have presented should be concluded with some unresolved dilemmas. In one sense I have had to attack an important source of some of the values I am trying to promote. I have argued for multiple channels of cultural transmission, and against single-channel transmission. I have also tried to show how conflicts in our culture are communicated to children, to the defeat of many of the professed aims of teachers. Until we understand the dynamics of cultural transmission more fully than we can hope to now, one of the insurances against single-channel transmission is conflict transmission. Of course, the pursuit of this point of view would eventually lead us to a position at dead center, where we acknowledge the defeat of our declared educational goals as desirable. But assuredly it is true that much of the healthy variation in personalities in our society, and certainly some of the innovations that are produced in our culture, issue from the conflicts patterned into it.

Perhaps the way out of this dilemma is to acknowledge the conflicts in our culture more explicitly even in the act of transmitting them. Some day we may

reach the point in our self-knowledge where we can at least be selective of the kinds of conflicts we transmit, and control better than we do the negative and unanticipated results of our transmission.

But there is another dilemma. Presuming that we somehow learn to control the results of our intended transmissions with increased knowledge of the relationship between the teacher and his culture, and between the teacher, his culture, the students and theirs, another order of question is raised—an ethical question.

The danger in knowledgeable and purposeful control is that this control could be used for purposes of inducing conformity, for purposes of transmitting values and patterns of behavior within a single channel. And with the trends toward conformity that seem well established in our culture, this seems highly possible.

We must exercise extreme care that a growing awareness of the cultural dimension, and particularly of the values dimension and its transmission is not misused, by accident or intent. What I am arguing for here is that the teacher, as a cultural transmitter, achieve sufficient awareness of the multidimensional processes involved so that fewer potentially creative channels of communication, of transmission, be blocked, with the consequence that more children can be effectively caught up in the educative process. But the ethical problem raised is unresolved. Here we must turn to the philosophers for help.

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DIVISION OF TEXAS TYLER DIVISION

José Cardenas, the superintendent of the Edgewood Independent School District and participant in this discussion, called our attention to the following memorandum written by William Wayne Justice, United States District Court Judge in eastern Texas. The memorandum clarifies a court order to desegregate the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District. The order is based on the opinion that Mexican-Americans are a cognizable ethnic group and thus entitled to the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The memorandum cautions against a desegregation process which would create a stigma of inferiority and calls upon Anglo-American students to participate equally in the adjustment process by learning to understand and appreciate cross-cultural attributes.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	)	
	)	
V.	)	CIVIL ACTION NO. 5281
	)	
STATE OF TEXAS, ET AL.	)	

MEMORANDUM OPINION REGARDING THE SAN FELIPE DEL RIO CONSOLIDATED INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT

The final order in this case with respect to the creation and desegregation of the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District and its operation as a unitary system which would afford all its students, whether Anglo- or Mexican-American, equal educational opportunities as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, was entered on August 13, 1971. That order and the Court's previous decree in this matter dated August 13, 1971, was premised upon the Court's firm conviction that the record demonstrates, first, that Mexican-American students in the State of Texas are a cognizable ethnic group and, hence, may avail themselves of the protections afforded under the Fourteenth Amendment and under Title VI (See Conclusions of Law #5 and 6 entered August 24, 1971) and, second, that the Mexican-American students in the Del Rio area have been subjected, over the years, to unequal treatment with respect to the educational opportunities afforded them and are, thus, part of a so-called *de jure* dual school system based upon separation of students of different ethnic origins. Moreover, the Court believes that this segregated arrangement, if not directly created by the State and its agencies, has been condoned and, in the 1970–71 school year, was financially supported by the State to a level well over 90% of the operating expenditures of each of the school districts joined by the August 13 order. In other words, had it not been for the substan-

tial contributions of the State under the terms of the Texas Minimum Foundation Program and under various additional arrangements, neither the former San Felipe nor the former Del Rio school district could have continued in operation. Hence, since the State and its agencies knew, or should have known of the segregated educational system being operated, largely at state expense, in the Del Rio area, and in light of this Court's previous findings of fact and conclusions of law concerning the State of Texas and the Texas Education Agency in this case (See Findings and Conclusions dated November 21, 1970), this Court believes that the segregated system described above existed as the result of state action.

The Court believes that the order of August 13 relating to consolidation and desegregation of the students and faculty of the two former districts in the Del Rio area is clear on its face and, therefore, finds it unnecessary to comment further upon it, save to say that it is consistent with the earlier orders of the Court in this case dated November 24, 1970, April 19, 1971, and April 20, 1971, as modified July 13, 1971, and so approved by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. In light of the relative novelty of the issue in current case law, however, the Court considers it advisable to clarify its position regarding the status of Mexican-American students within the State of Texas as developed from existing case law and from the record in this matter.

The Court found that "Mexican-Americans constitute an identifiable minority group in the State of Texas," and that "Mexican-Americans are subject to protection under Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fourteenth Amendment as applied to racial and ethnic discrimination in public schools." As stated in a scholarly note by Gerald M. Birnberg in the University of Texas L. Rev. 337, 338 (1971), "The conclusion that ethnic isolation of Mexican-Americans in the public schools is unlawful should not be surprising, since that principle has long been established in Texas law." *Jesus Salvatierra* v. *Inhabitants of Del Rio Independent School District*, 33 S.W.2d 790 (Tex. Civ. App. 1930), *appeal dismissed, w.o.j., and cert. denied*, 284 U.S. 580 (1931); *Delgado* v. *Bastrop Independent School District*, Civ. No. 388 (W.D. Tex. June 15, 1948); *Hernandez* v. *Driscoll Consolidated Independent School District*, 2 Race Rel. L.Rev. 329 (S.D. Tex. January 11, 1957). (See also, *Instructions of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, (1948) sent to school districts by the State Education Agency to inform them that segregation of Mexican-American students constituted a violation of Article VII, Section 7, of the Texas Constitution.)[1] This same principle has also been upheld by other federal courts. *Perez* v. *Sonora Independent School District*, C.A. 6-224 (N.D. Tex. 1969); *Cisneros* v. *Corpus Christi Independent School District*, 324 F. Supp. 599 (S.D. Tex. 1970), on appeal, C.A. (5th Cir. 1971). Judge Seals stated in *Cisneros:*

> . . . [I]t is clear to this Court that these people for whom we have used the word Mexican-Americans to describe their class, group, or

[1] Art. VII, Section 7, states: "Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored children, and impartial provision shall be made for both."

> segment of our population, are an identifiable ethnic minority in the United States, and especially so in the Southwest [and] in Texas. . . . [f.n.s. omitted] This is not surprising; we can notice and identify their physical characteristics, their language, their predominant religion, their distinct culture, and, of course, their Spanish surnames. And if there were any doubt in this court's mind, this court could take notice, which it does, of the congressional enactments, government studies and commissions on this problem. [At page 07, 608]

Judge Seals also noted in the *Cisneros* opinion that the identity of Mexican-Americans or Americans with Spanish surnames as a cognizable group is further acknowledged in the official United States Census for 1960 and 1970. (*Cisneros*, f.n. 31 at page 607).

This Court joins Judge Seals and the other courts cited above in the position that, based on case law to date and on the official state and federal documents available and already noted and on the record in the matter at bar, Mexican-Americans or Spanish-surnamed Americans are a separate and distinct national origin group under the terms of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Court was particularly impressed by the testimony of Dr. José Cardenas who presented a lengthy commentary on the problems commonly faced by Mexican-American students. This testimony demonstrated that Mexican-American students exhibit numerous characteristics which have a causal connection with their general inability to benefit from an educational program designed primarily to meet the needs of so-called Anglo-Americans. These characteristics include "cultural incompatibilities" and English language deficiencies—two traits which immediately and effectively identify those students sharing them as members of a definite group whose performance norm habitually will fall below that of Anglo-American students who do not exhibit these traits. It would appear, therefore, from Dr. Cardenas's testimony that it is largely these ethnically-linked traits—albeit combined with other factors such as poverty, malnutrition and the effects of past educational deprivation—which account for the identifiability of Mexican-American students as a group and which have, as a consequence, elicited from many school boards throughout Texas and, indeed, throughout the southwestern United States, the different and often discriminatory treatment shown on the record in this case.

This court is convinced that the characteristics of Mexican-American students bind them into a cognizable "national origin" group and has, in the case at bar, ruled accordingly. If it may be argued in such factual circumstances that the nature of the Mexican-American heritage is too vague and elusive a ground upon which to base a belief that the people sharing that heritage are an identifiable ethnic entity [see *Tijerina* v. *Henry*, 48 F.R.D. 274 (D.N.M. 1969), appeal dismissed, 398 U.S. 922 (1970) (but cf. dissent by Douglas, J.)], nevertheless, the Mexican-American students in this case may be considered as a separate and distinct group cognizable under the Four-

teenth Amendment and Rule 23 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. This position may be justified solely on the grounds that these students react to or are affected by a given stimulus--the Anglo-oriented educational program such as that maintained in the former Del Rio Independent School District—in a similar and predictable manner and, in the opinion of a recognized expert, this reaction is based almost entirely on common characteristics which, incidentally, may be traced to their common and distinct ancestry. See cases cited in *Carpenter* v. *Davis*, 424 F.2d 257, at 260 (5th Cir. 1970).

It may be well to note that for many years, Mexican-Americans have been recognized by the Supreme Court as an ethnic group which may sustain discriminatory treatment as a class. Significantly, in the opinion in *Hernandez* v. *Texas*, 347 U.S. 475 (1945)[2] (a case decided just two weeks before the famous *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), and also written for a unanimous Court by Chief Justice Warren), it was held that

> The State of Texas would have us hold that there are only two classes—white and Negro—within the contemplation of the Fourteenth Amendment. The decisions of this Court do not support this view.[4] And except where the question presented involves the exclusion of persons of Mexican descent from juries, [f.n. omitted] Texas Courts have taken a broader view of the scope of the equal protection claus.[5]
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> [4] See *Traux* v. *Raich*, 239 U.S. 33; *Takahashi* v. *Fish and Game Commission*, 334 U.S. 410. Cf. *Hirabayashi* v. *United States*, 320 U.S. 81, 100: "Distinctions between citizens solely because of their ancestry are by their very nature odious to a free people whose institutions are founded upon the doctrine of equality."
>
> [5] In *Juarez* v. *State*, 102 Tex.Cr.R. 297, 277 S.W. 1091, the Texas court held that the systematic exclusion of Roman Catholics from juries was barred by the Fourteenth Amendment. In *Clifton* v. *Puente*, 218 S.W.2d 272, the Texas court ruled that restrictive covenants prohibiting the sale of land to persons of Mexican descent were unenforceable.

Throughout our history differences in race and color have defined easily identifiable groups which have at times required the aid of the courts in securing equal treatment under the law. But community prejudices are not static, and from time to time other differences from the community norm may define other groups which need the same protection. Whether such a group exists within a community is a question of fact. When the existence of a distinct class is demonstrated, and it is further shown that the laws, as written or applied, single out some reasonable classification, the guarantees of the Constitution have been violated. The Fourteenth Amendment is not directed solely against discrimination due to a "two-class" theory—that is, based upon differences between "white" and Negro.

[2] *Hernandez* was a jury selection case originating in Jackson County, Texas, which is approximately 15% Mexican-American and which has on the tax rolls freeholders, about six or seven percent of whom were of Mexican descent. The State stipulated that no Mexican-or Latin-named person had served on a jury commission, or a grand or petit jury in Jackson County for the twenty-five years immediately preceding the action. It was in this context that the Court found sufficient support for its explanation of classes covered by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Having determined that the Mexican-American students in the San Felipe Del Rio area may be and, indeed, for current educational purposes, must be considered as members of a cognizable ethnic or national origin group, the relief in this case becomes fundamentally similar to that which has been framed in school desegregation suits before this Court based on discriminatory treatment of black students. The mandate, as directed by the Supreme Court, is to "eliminate discrimination root and branch," *Green* v. *New Kent County Board of Education*, 391 U.S. 430 (1968), and to create a unitary school system "with no black [Mexican] schools and no white schools but just schools."

Just what is a unitary school system? The Supreme Court has offered as yet little explanation beyond saying that in such a system, no child "will be effectively denied equal educational opportunities," *Alexander* v. *Holmes County Board of Education*, 396 U.S. 19 (1969), and that the system shall exhibit the "greatest amount of actual desegregation possible." *Swann* v. *Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971); *Davis* v. *Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County*, 402 U.S. 33 (1971).

Although these phrases are general and were made in the context of black/white desegregation, this Court finds them to be useful guidelines in this case. Under the circumstances here, as elucidated by Dr. Thomas and Dr. Cardenas, both experts in the problems of Mexican-American students in traditionally Anglo-American school environments, little could be more clear to the Court than the need in the newly consolidated school district created as a result of this Court's earlier order for special educational consideration to be given to the Mexican-American students in assisting them in adjusting to those parts of their new school environment which present a cultural and linguistic shock. Equally clear, however, is the need to avoid the creation of a stigma of inferiority akin to the "badges and indicia of slavery" spoken of in *United States* v. *Jefferson County Board of Education*, 372 F.2d 836 (1966), *cert. denied sub nom. United States* v. *Caddo Parish Board of Education*, 389 U.S. 840 (1967). To avoid this result the Anglo-American students too must be called upon to adjust to their Mexican-American classmates, and to learn to understand and appreciate their different linguistic and cultural attributes. The process by which all students participate in a joint learning and adjustment process will not only constitute an educational enrichment but, also, will bring the school system as a whole closer to that goal or state-of-being referred to by the Supreme Court as "unitary system." It is with this goal in mind, therefore—that of true integration as opposed to mere desegregation, or, as Texas news media are wont to term it, "racial mixing"—that the Court issued its major order in the case of the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District.

SIGNED and ENTERED this 6th day of December, 1971.

William Wayne Justice

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

THE USE OF HIGHER EDUCATION PERSONNEL IN SCHOOL-BASED UNDERGRADUATE TEACHER-TRAINING PROGRAMS

Should higher education personnel be included in school-based and community related training programs? If they are brought in what kind of people ought they to be and what role ought they to play? In struggling with questions of staffing and research in the community/school, the group touches on the problem of making the school a learning community for the adults who are involved as well as for the students. Kids and adults ought to be able to see and work with people who are engaged in the knowledge-winning process. If such programs exist, descriptions of them are scarce. Several movements in this direction are represented by 1. the Japanese Science Centers which have been described by Bentley Glass *(Five Levels of Incompetence,* a CONPASS Publication available from The Nebraska Curriculum Development Center); 2. Huber's informal program at Boston City Hospital (see Appendix to this chapter); and 3. the Science Center in Plainfield, New Jersey, which has come out of Rutgers' Urban Internship Program (see Appendix to this chapter). Some sort of synthesis of these three ways of going at exposing children to the knowledge-winning process might well be needed for the creation of intellectually competent and exciting school-based training.

The need for such reorganization is well articulated in a paper by James S. Coleman entitled, "The Children Have Outgrown the Schools," from the February 1972 issue of *Psychology Today.* The article will also appear soon in a publication by the Directorate of the Study Commission called *Of Education and Human Community,* a study document concerned with the function of schools in our society.

"The people in Woodlawn have a really bad taste in their mouths because they feel they were jumped on by [these researchers]. The school opened the doors of the first grade to these two doctors and the researchers found out that 70 per cent of the children 'failed to adapt.' This psychiatric-therapeutic group diagnosed the kids as sick. But the community kept saying, 'Hey, wait a minute. If 70 per cent of the kids fail to adapt, the kids are all right. Something is wrong with something else. Hold it. Hold it.' Pathological models always look at us as aberrations from the norm—something's wrong with you, you don't fit, you are sick, you need treatment."

—Barbara Sizemore, see p. 60.

MR. OLSON:

What kinds of resources do we have which would give schools some guidance with respect to what sorts of higher education people could be brought into the process of school-based teacher training? One thing that I keep hearing is that higher education people should not be brought in as trainers. They should be brought in as research people to inform the training process.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

I was going to go further with that. It's not simply a matter of using a university person as a technician or a resource person; there should be something that he really wants to learn in going in to work in a school. Not learn in the exploitative sense, i.e. studying the people there for credit. But is there some real learning process that he wants to undertake in that school setting? When we talk about school-based training, are we talking about schools as real learning centers for adults as well as for kids?

MR. FOSTER:

I have one probem. I'm not sure I want to give you my kids.

MS. SIZEMORE:

That's right. The Black community is not going to permit that. They've been overstudied. The anthropologist is looked on as a harbinger of the destruction of the culture.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

Are you, then, saying, "The only terms on which we are willing to allow university people in are to do, in effect, contracted research for us?"

MS. SIZEMORE:

For my community, that's right. I'm saying that the Black community at this moment will not allow university researchers to come into the community to research what they want to research "for their own learning."

MR. SCHWARTZ:

What guarantee do you have that you are not going to be exploited? That's tough. You have to do some pretty hard bargain driving.

MS. SIZEMORE:

The people in Woodlawn have a really bad taste in their mouths because they feel they were jumped on by Kellam and Schiff. The school opened the doors of the first grade to these two doctors and the researchers found out that 70 per cent of the children "failed to adapt." This psychiatric-therapeutic group diagnosed the kids as sick. But the community kept saying, "Hey, wait a minute. If 70 per cent of the kids fail to adapt, the kids are all right. Something is wrong with something else. Hold it. Hold it." Pathological models always look at us as aberrations from the norm—something's wrong with you, you don't fit, you are sick, you need treatment.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

Barbara, how are you going to break that?

MS. SIZEMORE:

One way. Just not let them in. The parents just withdrew their kids. They said, "I don't want my kid to go."

MR. OLSON:

We had a similar situation in Omaha, where the drug Ritalin was prescribed for an unusually large number of kids. The system was that a child who was misbehaving in a classroom was sent to a doctor and the doctor would administer some superficial tests and watch the child for a bit. If the child played in a restless fashion, Ritalin might well be prescribed. The persons who raised hell about that were Senator Ernest Chambers, now in the Nebraska legislature, and a barber in the Black community, and Theodore Johnson, a chemist at the Veteran's Hospital in Oma-

ha. Neither man had any specialized knowledge with respect to drugs. They just knew that it couldn't be possible to have minimal brain dysfunction in so high a percentage of the kids. The research establishment initially either reinforced or was noncommittal about what was being done. The Black community won on this issue because it was finally able to get, from the FDA, a statement which suggested that there was something wrong with the procedure used in the research for determining the need for and the administering of the drug. The Congressional hearings about Ritalin had gone on for sometime; Congressman Gallagher, as I understand it, was about to close the hearings when this evidence was thrown into the hopper. Then the issue of appropriate guidelines for administering the drug and for using it for research on school children was reopened.

Is it possible that if both the educational research process and the training processes were located in the schools, we would be effective?

MR. SCHWARTZ:

I assume that we pretty much agree, around this table, that most teacher-training programs based on university campuses aren't of much use to us, because they are too far removed from the actual experience of the schools.

MR. FOSTER:

We have brought in from the university a couple of psychologists, and a couple of anthropologists, and they have looked at Berkeley, and they really have given us no insights that are worth using or taking us any place. That kind of says, "You guys with your anthropology, your talk about society, are talking about a 1940 scene. When we give you the real community, you don't know any more than we do."

MS. SIZEMORE:

That wasn't true in the Woodlawn Experimental Schools Project District. One thing the University of Chicago knows how to do is research. When we wanted to learn how to do research, we went in there, and we said, "We want to know this; who can help us?" We found out some interesting things about the learning community and the relationships between the teachers and

the learning community. We found out, for example, there were crucial points. One of them was the preschool level, and the other one was the adolescent male learning community in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. Achievement in the adolescent male community was as great as that in the female community. Yet, he kept going away from school until by the time he got to the ninth grade, 68 per cent of the learning community was female. At this point, one had just lost all of that male group. And so we needed an intervention model there. Okay, then we asked for consultants to come in and help us diagnose that situation. One of the things we came up with was that teachers needed to learn how to interview without threatening and intimidating. They needed to know the techniques of microethnography. The teacher could stand in a classroom all day long and not see the interactions that would occur right before her eyes or be able to assimilate them into any kind of diagnostic process that would help her to interact with the students. We wanted to know how we could help the teachers to be observers in the teaching process.

We had eight people (whom we called community teachers) who, we felt, could facilitate the learning process because they were sitting in the classroom observing. They then had conferences with the teachers and shared what they saw with the teacher. They could work like a team on the complex processes of the classroom, using the process of microethnography. They helped the teachers to see.

A second thing that we wanted to do was to use questionnaires and surveys that enabled students to evaluate teachers, so the teachers could get constant feedback from their students as to how they viewed them and how they interpreted what they thought about them. All of these instruments are constructed using social science techniques for gathering data for diagnostic purposes.

We also wanted the teachers to learn how to be "subscriptive" instead of "prescriptive." Teachers know too damn much. The student comes in September, and the teacher starts passing out prescriptions. He doesn't even know their names yet: "Here, here, here's your prescription." Consider, if you went to a doctor,

and he says, "Good morning, Mr. Salmon. How are you doing?" You say, "I'm sick." And he writes you out a prescription and says, "Go get this filled down at the drugstore." You say, "Hell, man, you didn't even take my damn temperature. What's this?" "Well, I know what's wrong with you, Paul. I have had a lot of people come in here that looked like you."

When you get up to the adolescent community, anonymity is one of the biggest weapons the children shoot you down with. The new teacher comes into the school. If she doesn't know those kids in three days, she's going to get shot down. In my school, I walked up on the second floor, and I said, "Son, get in your room." "Man, you know, you ain't my mama, lady. You better get on back downstairs where you belong." I went to the washroom; some girls were standing up there smoking; no respect. "Lady, your toilet is downstairs in your office. It ain't up here." And I was just shocked. I said, "What's this? I'm the principal of this school. How dare they treat me like this?" I didn't know anybody and they knew I didn't know them and so they just got away with murder. And so therefore I knew that right away I had to learn names of people in order to take this weapon of anonymity away from them.

I'm saying that teachers aren't able to analyze situations like this, so that they can define their problems. They need to know the social science techniques for gathering that kind of data for analysis and for diagnosis.

MR. SALMON:

Was the University of Chicago able to give that to them?

MS. SIZEMORE:

That's right. There was also the University of Illinois, and I think some of our consultants came from other places. The teachers selected their consultants. For instance, the teachers who wanted to learn how to deliver Black literature wanted George Kent. The kids and their parents said they wanted Black literature. When the teachers started teaching Black literature, nobody enrolled for the course, and so they wanted to know, "Well, now, what do we do? We need to know how you deliver it. How you really get it to the kids so that it has meaning for

them?" And so they asked for George Kent who was a visiting professor of Black literature at the University of Chicago. And they requested consultants from Northeastern Illinois. They selected the people they wanted to work there.

MR. OLSON:

Research may enter in in another way. The research man may have his lab in a school complex. Did any of you have a chance to read the Bentley Glass paper I sent out? In Japan, people who actually "win knowledge" are brought into the schools and work in the schools. For example, if they are scientists they continue their research on whatever it is that they are interested in out in the schools.[1]

MR. SALMON:

That was an in-service activity.

MR. OLSON:

Yes, but it could be pre-service. If we were to set up Renewal Centers, the same activity that served for in-service could serve for pre-service, too. What is your reaction to this kind of thing?

MR. SALMON:

I think that the idea has real promise if it is done seriously. It would be important to have support from industry and from the government to make sure that the things that are studied are relevant and modern.

MR. OLSON:

That is an issue that is going to come up when you get to school-based training, particularly if you try to move liberal arts training out to the school.

MR. SALMON:

In the model, there were highly skilled high school teachers working with highly skilled scientists, were there not? That was the concept of the staffing of the center.

[1] See appendix to this chapter for descriptions of two similar programs in the United States.

MR. OLSON:

You have the knowledge-winning process and a teaching of the teacher process—both processes going on simultaneously. My sense is that we must bring, into the schools and into school-based training, some sense that the person giving the education to the teacher is a thinker and intellectual—I'm tempted to say researcher, but I don't mean researcher in the traditional sense.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

That's the kind of argument I was trying to make yesterday about thinking of the school as a learning environment first for the adults there. If you have got a place where adults are constantly engaged in the learning process, hopefully by contagion the kids will also become partners in that kind of enterprise.

MR. FOSTER:

In most schools teachers do not see themselves as learners. When we opened up the Buena Vista High School we agreed there would be two preparation periods; one of those periods the teacher must spend in the library doing anything he wanted to do. We wanted the kids to see them as learners. The kids would come in and say, "What are you doing?" And the teacher would say, "I'm studying. I'm writing."

MR. SCHWARTZ:

For me, the key thing is to constantly struggle with the questions: What's a school? How do you make a school? What knowledge is appropriate? There are a lot of kinds of questions that the adults ought to be constantly engaging: Why are we here? What's our enterprise together? What kinds of transactions ought there to be between us and students? What kind of transactions between those of us who are part of the school and the world outside of us? To say that the school ought to be the locus for teacher education only makes sense if the school is that kind of environment where those kinds of questions are constantly being asked.

APPEND[illegible] -Research Sharing

Settings [illegible]ere "winners of knowledge" allow children and teenagers to share in or even to witness the research experience are rare. One such setting, however, appears to exist in an informal program at Boston City Hospital. *Newsweek's* description by Joseph Morgenstern of Dr. Gary Huber's program (January 10, 1972) is quoted here:

> Huber's program doesn't even have a name, let alone a fancy acronym, but its purpose is to expose interested young people to medical procedures and give them positions of genuine responsibility in a research laboratory. The program has no funding and seeks none. It also lacks entrance exams and admission criteria. Huber, as a one-man screening board, looks for motivation, not academic credentials, in the dozen or more teenagers who volunteer for work in his laboratory each year. "We underestimate what young minds can do," he says. His own motivation is a belief that the fifteen-year grind of conventional medical education can do terrible things to a student's head. "It's a crazy way to train people. You usually put them into a lock step of learning by rote during what ought to be their most creative period."

Hunter Nicholas, an 18-year-old Black researcher who worked with Huber and recently presented a paper to members of the American Federation of Clinical Research, had volunteered at age 15 for after-school work at a private hospital in Roxbury, Mass. The *Newsweek* article tells of his involvement with Huber:

> Nicholas went looking for more challenging volunteer work at a larger hospital. Boston City sent him to Huber, who had just begun his program for young people at Channing Lab. Huber inflicted a fair amount of scut work on the boy—washing dishes, fetching books and journals from the library—but he also offered work that Nicholas could respect. At 4 a.m. each morning Nicholas came in and injected mice for an experiment the laboratory was running. Huber gave him some medical literature to read for himself, taught him the basics of tissue preparation, assigned him as an assistant to a lab technician and helped him pick a research project of his own.
>
> None of this went as easily as it sounds, of course. Nicholas needed help in reading and understanding medical terminology. Huber and his lab associates arranged for his enrollment at the Palfrey Street School, a private school [which] . . . took care of his tuition and gave him special tutoring in English and math. Within two years Nicholas had been unanimously elected to the school's board of trustees and was teaching classes in freshman algebra and black literature.
>
> After graduating from Palfrey Street last June, Nicholas delayed his entrance into college, partly in order to finish his research project, an

inquiry into the question of why patients undergoing therapy often develop severe and sometimes fatal lung infections. His project was a modest one, carefully delimited in its scope and speculations. It sought to quantify the loss of resistance to infection, rather than to speculate on the ultimate mechanisms of the loss. But any researcher, let alone an 18-year-old, could take professional pride in the work, which involved histology, the use of laboratory animals, statistics, x-rays and radio-labeled bacteria. . . .

Nicholas is eager to give credit to Huber's program. "This is really revolutionary, you know, it's really going against the system." And so it is. The system dictates that a medical student do intellectual drudgery for at least eight years, that he delay the beginning of his practice until he's in his mid-30s and overschooled, underexperienced, often exhausted and sometimes only five or so years away from his first heart attack.

The most revolutionary of Huber's notions is that high-school students can do useful, original research, even though their over-all knowledge of medicine may be limited. He feels that Nicholas probably knows more about the effects of radiation on lung tissue than 97 per cent of the doctors in the world. "Getting to be really knowledgeable about a specific aspect of research may involve reading and digesting 50 or so papers. That's a finite number. It can be done. Research isn't all that special," Huber insists. "You don't need the education. You just need to know how to think."

A community science center set up by students and faculty at Rutgers University Graduate School of Education provides another example of a setting where elementary and high school students can take part in research experiments. It is described by George Pallrand, director of the center and chairman of the department of science and humanities education at Rutgers:

> The center was envisioned as providing a focus for the efforts of local industry, community agencies and institutions of higher learning to respond to an acute need within a section of the community. A storefront center was developed in the model cities target area of Plainfield, New Jersey. A number of educators, industrial scientists and engineers and parents began to work together to develop an educational program in the area of the sciences for the children in this particular section of the community.
>
> The center provided an opportunity for young students, approximately fifth to ninth grade, to pursue a variety of interests broadly categorized as science. It was one of the few places in the community that offered students an opportunity to continue and expand upon what had occurred in school. For most, it presented an opportunity to develop interests that could not be pursued in school. Programs cut broadly across areas such as nature study, astronomy, radio, and meteorology. The emphasis was

essentially environmental which was directed at understanding the make-up and history of that particular community.

The existence of the center provided the interns and other students in the University with exciting opportunities to work with individuals and small groups of students in a variety of ways. The interns found the opportunity of seeing some of their students at the center in the afternoon or evening a particularly valuable experience. Teacher-pupil relationships tend to be overly formalized in schools. The relaxed atmosphere of the center and the very direct tie with "the home" provide the student with invaluable perspectives about the youngsters they normally teach. They apparently are unable to establish such a relationship during the normal school day. This center also provides interns and teachers an opportunity to work with University faculty and industrial scientists in developing projects and curriculum materials specifically for their students. Beginning teachers do not normally find the freedom nor are they encouraged to develop innovative programs in the schools. Working in the center provides these opportunities which in large part has proven to be a professional experience of the highest order.

(For another reference to the science center, see comments by Milton Schwebel, Dean of the Rutgers Graduate School of Education, in the third volume of Study Commission documents, *Of Education and Human Community*, to be published soon.)

SCHOOL-BASED TEACHER-TRAINING CENTERS

Within the Office of Education several major national projects are currently being developed which relate to the way in which educational personnel will be trained. The discussion in this section regarding pre-service vs. in-service and school-based vs. university-based teacher education is, therefore, highly important. If training is to take place in the schools, where will the schools find the resources for this in terms of money and personnel? If there is to be a linkage of some kind among the community/school/IHE (institution of higher education), what would be the nature of that coalition?

In describing one model of a training program, attention is given to the process of using IHE personnel to help in diagnosing the incompatibilities which presently exist between the characteristics of the student and the characteristics of the instructional program. The group also examines possible ways of supporting and protecting innovation in the school system.

Parker's description of one model of teacher training in Portland, Oregon, in which both locus and responsibility is shifted from the university to the school district includes an evaluation based on one year of operation.

"I have come to the conclusion that the university can't train teachers. I'm saying they can't be trained on the university campus; that fourth year or fifth year, whatever it is going to be, has got to be in the school."

—Richard L. Foster, see below.

SCHOOL-BASED VS. UNIVERSITY-BASED; IN-SERVICE VS. PRE-SERVICE

MR. FOSTER:

I have come to the conclusion that the university can't train teachers. I'm saying they can't be trained on the university campus; that fourth year or fifth year, whatever it is going to be, has got to be in the school.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

Let me underscore what Dick is saying. Those of us in the school systems are saying to universities what people in industry are saying to high schools, "Look, give up any pretense you have to providing technical training; you can't do it. Just send us a kid who can read and write and who's got a reasonable general education and we will give him the training he needs to function in our setting. But, don't waste this guy's time teaching him dysfunctional courses in a dysfunctional setting."

MR. OLSON:

Well, there are two questions I want to ask. Are we assuming then three or four years of liberal arts training for people and then submerging them in schools or cities in a sort of University Without Walls format? Does it make sense to say that undergraduate education for education personnel ought to be school-centered for all four years? Higher education might bring people in by contract who have something to contribute to this process—it could be an anthropologist; it could be a psychiatrist; it could be an English person—but the schools and the community would do the selection and evaluation of staff.

MR. FOSTER:

I would like to say to the university, "All we want is some options. If you want to run your teacher training program and do it over there, great."

But, I want a program in which a kid can come to the school system at the end of the second year or third year of liberal arts. We will be responsible for the third year but he makes the selections. If he wants to opt into the school system at that stage we will provide the one or two years that are left in terms of teacher training. Or he can go through the higher education model if he wants to, but the third and fourth years in higher education, he is given no alternatives. If the candidate for teaching comes over to our side, then I want us to be able to recommend that the institution of higher education award the degree. We will recommend to the state department that he receive a credential.

MR. OLSON:

So, you are really going for Paul Salmon's free market. You're saying people trained in school-based professional training programs will drive the other people out of business?

MR. FOSTER:

Absolutely! I think they will drive some of those other programs out of existence.

MR. OLSON:

You are saying that good money will drive bad money out; I am not at all sure that that works.

MR. FOSTER:

I don't know. I'm only opening up one or two more options in the situation. I have a feeling I can't blow university training out of existence.

MR. OLSON:

The deans of education will hear you as saying, "Well, you can go on with business as usual, as long as we can open up some more stuff in the schools."

MR. SALMON:

I think that we have to go to a school-centered training system. I think that we have to do that in order to make teacher training relevant. I don't think that you can find anybody going through a regular teacher training activity now in any university that feels that it's relevant. I think that the school-based model is viable and I do think that it will have an impact on the market.

MR. FOSTER:

I'm just taking the point of view that you are not going to be able to wrest power entirely away from that university. I think that's a drain. All I want to do is be able to get a piece of that action to prove we can do it better; I don't really believe I can take the power away from the University of California.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

But, realistically, aren't you going to have to set up some kind of a training program that the university will accept and put its stamp on? It's not enough to say simply, "Give kids a choice of where to spend their last year or year and a half or two years." It's going to have to be, "Let us find a program that at the very least will carry with it some kind of nominal course title." Then let us look at the two programs at the end of X period of time.

MR. CARDENAS:

Past experience shows that they are going to go ahead and complement your training program on their own terms with their available staff and so forth.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

We set up such a program with Oregon State University. With a federal grant we were able to go to the University and say, "You play our game." We needed a university to put its stamp of approval on our program and we needed a university to give a degree. In order to get our trainees certified, what we had to do in effect was to say, "First you certify our staff and put them on your staff and call them assistant professors, and then you certify our students." We train 20 teachers in this program a year who never set foot in a university campus and yet get 49 units of university credit. They have to be within 30 units of a degree when they come into the program. But they get a degree if they don't already have one and they get certification without having set foot on the university campus. It all works by federal money that we hustle, and the university skims off the overhead. But you know what will happen when we're out of money—no program; and the university will go right back to its main line operation. Assuming we begin with the question of how do we reform

the schools and get them to function more effectively, where on the priority list do we put undergraduate preparation of teachers? For me it would be fairly far down the list—not right at the top. I really think the money would be better spent if the strategy would focus more on improving the skills of the people who are already in schools as part of a substantial in-service thrust. I say this for two reasons: First, the economics of the job market indicate that the population that's now in teaching is going to be there a while. And second, no matter what kind of education you give people on the university campus, the teacher coming into a school is going to be more affected by the behavior of the people already there than he is by anything you have told him back on the university campus.

What I'm suggesting is that the most powerful kind of impact you can have on pre-service programs is to really do some things in the schools themselves with the people already there.

I guess the underlying assumption here is that the school really has to be the place where the training takes place. I don't mean to say that the universities have no role to play in teacher education. But, for me, the school is the unit of change in education, and we have to begin to think about ways of training people in the schools themselves to be more functional. That's probably going to involve students as part of the training experience: that is, using students to help teach adults. It's probably going to involve community people, and it's clearly going to involve the adults who are already there.

I think it is a mistake for us to think of the responsibility for the education of teachers in terms of a simple trichotomy—the schools *or* the university *or* the community alone. The issue to me is, what is the nature of the coalition, the nature of the partnership? To think of teacher education apart from the whole problem of school reform seems to me to be a bad mistake. The conception we have of schooling is a really open and dynamic one; if we don't think of the curriculum as something that's preset and that teachers are trained to implement; if we think of the problem of building a curriculum as the on-going business of the school; if it is a process that the adults are engaged in, that is,

they lead in, but, that kids also participate in, and the community participates in; if we think of the essential business of the school as being a constant question—asking about what ought this school to be, what kind of community ought it to be, what ought its values to be, what should be studied, at what stage, what kind of program for what kind of person, etc.,—then it seems to me the question is: *Who can really contribute to that process and make it a live one?*

The notion that we have specialists whose professional interests are in learning about schooling, based on the university campus, asking questions apart from the schools, seems to me to be crazy. It makes no sense to me to talk about the continuing education of people already in the business, or the initiation of new people into the business, independent of what's happening to kids in classrooms.

That process of continuing education and initiation has to be all the time tied to direct work with students. You realize that I'm trying to get away from the separation of the practice teaching part from the methods part. I'm trying to get away from the idea of choosing either the university or the schools as the training center. There has got to be a linkage.

DIAGNOSING; SOME MODELS

MS. SIZEMORE:

Teachers have to learn how to diagnose. Our teachers don't even know how to use the fundamental science skills. We have very few of them.

MR. CARDENAS:

Barbara, I go further than diagnosis. It's not just diagnosis. It's not just diagnosis of what the kid knows. I was telling Dick (Foster) a while ago about my experience of teaching a class of five-year-olds this summer in which the instructional materials left a hell of a lot to be desired. I was supposed to teach a unit on the family. You explain what a family is, and you say the family is made up of father, mother, brother, sister and baby, you know.

The key thing is that after we have explained what a family is, and set a cultural standard, then we tell the kid, "Now, tell us about your family." And he says, "Well, gee, I'm inferior. My family doesn't have a father, or we have six brothers and two sisters," or something like that. After we set a standard which is culturally oriented, we find that the kid cannot cope with it. We see this in the instructional materials that are used.

I had a chance to see a little kid looking at a picture of the family and there was this, "Oh, jeepers!" Teutonic type lady in there, golden hair, and all. The teacher asked the kid, "Show me mother," and the kid looked in there and said, "Show me mother. Show me mother." She said, "Isn't that mother?" and the kid said, "Hell, no; that ain't mother." See? In the policies of the schools, the culturally atypical take a tremendous licking.

MR. OLSON:

I don't see why it woudn't make sense if you were training teachers to begin by assigning them the job of diagnosing incompatibles; that is, instead of going to a college and starting Freshman English or whatever, you might, on an experimental basis, assign teachers to Edgewood School District in San Antonio or to the Woodlawn district or to Black House in Berkeley. In this context teachers will perhaps experience bewilderment as to why the schools are going wrong. However, they won't learn how to diagnose the incompatibles just by being absorbed in the situation. They will have to get some social science skills from someplace.

MS. SIZEMORE:

Right.

MR. OLSON:

Why couldn't that be the place where the education of the pre-service teacher began, right in this neighborhood school?

MR. CARDENAS:

There would be certain characteristics that I would look for in a school-based training system. In terms of process, there would be teacher input and community inputs into the system. As far as the characteristics of the school district and the popula-

tion of the school district, I think that there should be a very strong orientation of the teacher training program into what I consider some of the problem areas of our educational system—mainly incompatibilities that exist between the characteristics of the learner and the characteristics of the instructional program. I attribute most of the failings of school districts such as this one and other school districts to incompatibilities between the culture of the learner and the culture of the school. It is possible to go ahead and itemize what these incompatibilities are and then make sure that the teacher training program is responsive—that the teachers understand the nature of these incompatibilities and are prepared to teach in ways which will reduce them. You want a for instance?

MR. OLSON:
Yes.

MR. CARDENAS:
Well, I can just go down the line and itemize these things. First, my school is composed of a poverty population. I go back to what I said this morning—that the instructional program in this country was developed for White Anglo-Saxon English-speaking middle-class student populations. The reason that minority group kids and disadvantaged kids are doing poorly is because of this incompatibility between their characteristics and a program which is developed for the English-speaking middle class.

In Edgewood School District, over 50 per cent of the school population comes from families with annual incomes of less than $2,600. In the methodology and the materials which are employed in the school system, there is always an assumption that the kids have certain characteristics which are typical of the middle class. The school does not compensate or deviate from instructional programs for the middle class. In Edgewood, you have a group of kids that grow up in homes with adult-child ratios that go three or four to one, and even six and seven to one. These kids have not had interactions with adults or have had limited interactions; or as some of my staff say, they may have interactions but get no feedback on "correct behaviors" from the adults. Therefore, the teacher training programs ought

to make the teacher trainee very much aware of the limitations and deprivations of kids from poverty homes and be prepared to develop, implement, and structure a program which is compatible with these characteristics of the kids.

In general, the school does not even realize that the kids are culturally atypical. Second, when they do realize that you do have a culturally different population, they do nothing about it in terms of structure, instruction, and instructional programs. Third, when they do something about it, invariably they do the wrong thing.

MR. SALMON:

That's not really an overstatement? Aren't you doing some of the right things?

MR. CARDENAS:

Am I doing some of the right things? Damn few. Everyday, I learn new things, the cultural incompatibilities in the instructional materials, the methodology, the school policies and regulations, the school values, and even the school traditions which create problems for the kids.

MR. OLSON:

You identify "incompatibilities." Who does the identifying? Some anthropologist you bring in, your teachers, you or some parents? I am trying to visualize a process.

MR. CARDENAS:

The way I identify the incompatibilities is through a series of conferences which includes the students, parents, counselors, the superintendent, principals, and supervisors. I then do another series of conferences that includes lawyers and sociologists and anthropologists and educators and other types of people. We just ask the question, "What's wrong with the educational system?" This process specifies the problems. Anyone can duplicate this type of activity.

MS. SIZEMORE:

We did it. One way that we did it was through an arrangement with the University of Chicago, the Chicago Public Schools, and Woodlawn organization. At the Dvorak School in Chicago the

kindergarten teacher said, "Look, this kindergarten program is not working; the kids are not ready to read at the end of the program. What is the problem?" That was the question. In Woodlawn they knew what the problem was; they asked the community agents who were like school community representatives and the kindergarten teachers to go out and see in the community what were the kids doing and what the kids could do. They talked to parents; they got their information any way they could. And they found that the five-year-old children at Woodlawn were already sharing their toys and their resources with brothers and sisters; they were looking out for brothers and sisters younger than they. There were five and six-year-olds. They were doing smaller errands like going to the store and making purchases and coming home with the correct change, taking telephone messages and memorizing them, because they couldn't write. With this information collected they came back and said, "Look, this kindergarten program is crazy. It's asking us to teach a kid to share when maybe what he needs is a toy of his own because he's sharing everything up to this point; it is asking him to play house when he's already been taking care of brothers and sisters."

They took another look at the student when he came into the kindergarten. They tape recorded what the student said and, in listening to it, discovered that kids just two weeks into school were saying things like, "Teacher, when are you going to give me a book? Is we going to learn how to read? I can write my ABC's. Won't you see?"

In other words, the students in kindergarten were coming into school ready for a real learning task and not the kindergarten program that had been previously designed for them. And so, the kindergarten teacher said, "Okay, let's change it. Let's get about the business of real learning with these kids."—which is really a kind of taboo with the consultants from the central office. By identifying the skills the students already had and placing them on top of the skills that were to be taught, they eliminated some since the students already had these. They then slid others in their place. Okay. When they did that, they found that the

materials that were necessary to get them ready were not sufficient. The students did not identify with "spectacles," you know. They didn't dig it.

MR. OLSON:
They were to know "spectacles?"

MS. SIZEMORE:
Right. And other better things. So, they called in the consultants; one was Grace Holt. She was to assist the teachers in designing a curriculum that would meet the needs of our students, utilize their language and their vocabulary, and get them ready to read; that's how the "ethnic linguistic" approach to oral language was developed. It is now used in some of the Spanish communities in Chicago.

Language samples were elicited from the children by having them bring from home articles with which they were familiar and then the teacher would elicit the language from them; put it on tape and then teach them this vocabulary first and how to read from that vocabulary.

When the Woodlawn Experimental School project first opened, some 60 per cent of the students in kindergarten who entered first grade were not ready to read. Last year, less than one per cent were not ready to read.

MR. OLSON:
Is that roughly the kind of process that you are thinking about?

MR. CARDENAS:
Yes.

MR. SCHWARTZ:
I suggest a simple kind of experiment. In the first year of a new program, take the population of kids and divide them in half: one group goes to school 180 days and whatever in-service you do is after school and on Saturdays; the other group of kids, goes 90 days and you give continuous in-service to your teachers the other 90 days. I would be willing to bet that at the end of that year you will find that the kids who went to school the 90 days would not be harmed. What I'm getting at is the critical problem

of in-service; we expect people to do it at 3:30 or at night or on Saturdays. As soon as you begin tampering with the sacred cow of taking away student instructional time, you run into trouble.

MS. SIZEMORE:

We send out teachers who are sensitive to the needs of the students and make the kinds of responses that are necessary as student advocates and change agents, and they get shot down. The Center for Inner City studies does not have the facilities to provide human beings with the necessary apparatus for not eating to go along with the courage necessary for being a change agent. We haven't figured that out yet.

MR. OLSON:

Somebody has got to put this together so that you have some way of protecting the reform process within the college of education and when the people go into the conventional schools.

MR. BENTON:

Industry for the last 30 years has done a tremendous amount of training. They would send managers out and teach them how to problem-solve through communications. The managers went back and lost their jobs immediately. If you don't have a followup, your training isn't worth anything.

MR. FOSTER:

If we are going to do a school-based training program, is there any way that we could require the superintendent to go through a training program to sensitize him as to what was going to happen and thus make him available for the kinds of support that was necessary in order to protect the teachers that came out of the program. If you don't give teachers unusual protection the rest of the staff works hard to see if they can't kill them. That's one of the ways of preserving the status quo. Can we train superintendents and principals on how to protect new ideas?

MR. SCHWARTZ:

Barbara, you mentioned the cadre notion where you train a team of people. It seems to me also we are talking about an extended commitment—not simply a placement for an intern year and letting the guy go and get wiped out, but the notion of a

two or three-year commitment with followup from the people responsible for training. As it is now teachers go out on an individual basis and five years later, two-thirds of the best ones are out of teaching.

MR. FOSTER:

I have one teacher training model outside of the usual kind of a format to suggest to the Study Commission. It could develop training in school districts, each district to use a separate model. We wouldn't take any school district in which we didn't broker with the superintendent that he would give us free access to the system and support it. Second, we wouldn't take any pre-service or in-service teachers for training unless the principal came for training at the same time.

We do a small version of this in Berkeley. We bring teachers to Berkeley for two weeks. We train them on a deliberate training model; we are well aware of the clinical aspects of teaching, the organizational and the evaluational. We lay out the goals. We take them through everything that they are going to do with kids, and we monitor them personally twice a year. We go into their classrooms to see that they are carrying out the model. In addition, the teachers we train are responsible, when they go home and have been through the process which we have initiated, to teach all the other teachers at the same grade level what we taught them. Our staff works all year to get ready for that two-week workshop. That is the kind of dollars and training and commitment it takes in order to do a good job of educating teachers.

The Portland Urban Teacher Education Project: New Context For Teacher Preparation[1]

John L. Parker

INTRODUCTION

Adams High School, in Portland, Oregon, has received considerable publicity within its first two years of existence. Among the distinguishing features of Adams High School is its "Clinical Model," an organizational pattern which includes heavy emphasis upon training and research, in addition to instruction. The Portland Urban Teacher Education Project is the direct outgrowth of this clinical model and is the most highly developed of the Adams teacher preparation programs.[2]

The main goals of the Portland Urban Teacher Education Project are, primarily, to prepare teachers to be successful with urban, disadvantaged students, and, secondarily, to bring more Black adults into professional education positions. These goals are incorporated into a twelve-month certification program with the following characteristics:

a. Substantial federal support.

b. Shift in *locus* of teacher preparation from the university to the school district.

c. Shift in *responsibility* of teacher preparation from the university to the school district.

d. Maximal linkage with compatible programs.

e. Emphasis upon career ladder.

f. Maximal individualization and maximal use of group resources.

g. Interdisciplinary block seminars.

None of these characteristics, looked at individually, is particularly innovative. This combination of program components, however, is unique, and bears examination.

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[1] This paper was presented at the convention of the Association of Teacher Educators, Chicago, February 27, 1971. John L. Parker is coordinator of teacher education at John Adams High School, director of the Portland Urban Teacher Education Project, and assistant professor at Portland State and Oregon State Universities.

[2] For a more complete description of the training model, see Parker, John L., "Personnel Training at John Adams High School," in *Curriculum Bulletin*, No. 38, College of Education, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, January, 1970.

PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

A. Substantial Federal Support

The Portland Urban Teacher Education Project began in 1968 when the planners of Adams High School discovered that it was extremely difficult to find certificated Black faculty members for its new school, whose student body was projected to be twenty per cent Black. Other secondary schools within the Portland district were found to be equally desirous of hiring more certificated minority personnel. Neither local teacher training institutions nor recruiting from outside the region appeared to be meeting this particular need.

Fortunately, one provision of the then recently enacted Education Professions Development Act of 1967 appeared extremely appropriate. Section B-2, EPDA gives block grants to the states to " . . . provide local school districts with funds to meet critical teacher shortages . . . "[3] EPDA B-2 aimed at giving school districts, through state departments of education, prime responsibility for training aides and teachers. Universities and other agencies could then be *sub-contracted* for services, as needed. This is a clear departure from most federally funded training guidelines. In EPDA B-1 (Teacher Corps), for instance, the conventional pattern is for a university to be the prime funding agent, with a school district or districts having cooperative but distinctly less responsible roles.

An EPDA B-2 grant was subsequently awarded, and the Portland Urban Teacher Education Project came into being in June, 1969, with a group of twenty-two trainees, three quarters of whom were Black.

B. Shift in locus of preparation from the university to the school district and shift in responsibility of teacher preparation from the university to the school district.

The B-2 guidelines clearly gave school districts a great deal of power and responsibility. A district could conceivably send individuals either part time or full time to universities to be trained in conventional ways. This could alleviate a shortage, but might not represent an attempt to develop more effective teacher preparation. School districts could hire university people to come in to the schools and conduct professional preparation courses within the school sites. This might represent an improvement over sending trainees to the universities, as it would suggest that the teacher educators might then have more current knowledge of schooling and students.

The Adams clinical model presented an alternative hypothesis: a group of experienced, credentialled school-based teacher educators, with the aid of B-2 funding and university affiliation, could design and implement a coherent,

[3] I. Jack Fasteau, "First Annual Report," State Grants Program, EPDA B-2 H.E.W., November 5, 1969, p. 1.

flexible, field-centered program. This hypothesis implies a third voice in the on-going argument about who should control teacher preparation. The "classical" debates has been within universities and teacher training institutions themselves: How should the academicians and the educationists interact to produce the best possible classroom teacher? These competing forces have been both augmented and confused by state certification policies, and various arms of the NEA. The nation's school districts, the ultimate customers of teacher training efforts, have been remarkably silent in this debate. Some large city school districts, e.g., New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and St. Louis, do have their own certification procedures.[1] However, these procedures speak to a need for maintaining insulation from political pressures, rather than a desire to have a responsible voice in teacher preparation.

Many writers have argued for a partial shift of teacher preparation from universities to schools. Others have outlined and described theoretical and actual programs. Our hypothesis, stated simply, is that the school-based teacher preparation programs, compared with university-based programs, have a higher probability of being flexible, coherent, and integrated and likely to produce the kind of specialized teachers which school districts wish to hire.

The rationale behind our shift in both site and locus of responsibility for preparation implies some severe indictments:

1. Conventional university programs have serious deficiencies.

2. School districts have traditionally been extremely shortsighted in regard to pre-service teacher preparation, and have thereby failed to act in their own best interests.

Substantiation for the first charge is hardly necessary in 1971; substantiation of the second charge is much less common. Training theorists who favor field centered preparation accentuate the immediacy and flexibility of such programs, but shy away from pointing out historical school district myopia. Of course advocates of field centered preparation have invariably been based at universities, educational laboratories, research organizations, or other non-school district sites. And they might argue, quite legitimately, that a shift in locus does not necessarily imply a shift in *responsibility*.

Fortunately conditions in Oregon were conducive to PUTEP: the Portland schools, already heavily involved in experimental curricular and training programs, were eager; the state department of education desired substantial reform in both teacher preparation and certification; Oregon State University approved the program goals, gave joint-appointments to some of the Adams staff, and supplied other faculty members for *full-time* work in Portland.

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[1] Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom*, (N.Y., 1970), p. 433.

C. Maximal linkages with compatible programs

Adams High School, due to its heavy involvement in research and training, offered a rich set of inter-relationships. Exclusive of PUTEP, approximately sixty interns or student teachers were trained in 1969-70, while ninety will be trained in 1970-71.

Training agreements were undertaken with Portland State University, the University of Oregon, Reed College, and Lewis and Clark College. Adams was also the training site for EPDA Career Opportunities aides, and OEO New Career aides and a social work training team, from the Portland State University School of Social Work, funded by the National Institute of Mental Health. Adams has an EPDA-SPU differentiated staffing grant, which promoted in-service training for a number of educative roles at Adams and at an innovative middle school.

Linkage possibilities range from low level dovetailing of films and speakers, to more complex inter-relationships. An example of these more powerful linkages exists in the joint training of supervisors (under EPDA-SPU) and our PUTEP interns in a five-week summer school.

Another example is inter-professional seminars involving both staff and trainees of the social work training project and PUTEP.

The existence of these training programs in conjunction with parallel research and developmental programs, and the Adams experimental instructional curriculum, engenders an exciting atmosphere in which to become a teacher.

D. Career Ladder

The Adams training model was heavily influenced by Pearl and Riessman's *New Careers for the Poor*. Dr. Pearl has also been a consultant and adviser at Adams since the initial planning. New Careers and Career Opportunities Programs provide useful stepping stones to PUTEP. The B-2 guidelines allowed for admission to teacher training of either bachelor's degree holders or individuals within 30 credit hours of receiving a degree. This latter provision was extremely useful in allowing entry of highly qualified Black candidates who had not been able to complete their bachelor's degrees. In the first cycle four individuals received bachelor's degrees through OSU in addition to their certification; two men were able to complete bachelor's degree programs that had been interrupted for over twenty years.

PUTEP has been able to begin building a modest post-program ladder as well. One member of the first cycle has been placed in a pilot administrative training program (funded under a concurrent EPDA grant), while a second is being supported by PUTEP funds to begin a counsellor certification program through OSU.

TRAINING CHARACTERISTICS

As stated previously, the training objectives of PUTEP involved development of a flexible, coherent, integrated certification program. The various theoretical courses are designed to be interdisciplinary and the theoretical courses to be carefully dovetailed with practical experiences. These objectives are made much more feasible by having the course instructors school-based persons, who, for the most part, also acted as tutorial supervisors of the interns.

A. Overview

PUTEP is a twelve-month program with the following sequence of experiences:

1. An eight-week B-2 stipend-supported summer session. Five-week segment with half time student teaching, and half time student teaching-related interdisciplinary block seminar; and a three-week full time block seminar.
2. During the academic year, 2/3 time school district-paid internships in nine Portland schools, linked with interdisciplinary block seminars twice weekly at Adams High School.

B. The Nature Of The "Block" Program

The group-oriented, inter-disciplinary program contains two main thrusts: An *affective* thrust, and a *cognitive* thrust.

1. The affective thrust. A block program in which group process or human relations values are emphasized yields the following advantages:
   a. It offers within itself, a process model. That is, the group could continually examine itself and its inter-relationships as a laboratory experience analogous to the various groups which trainees teach.
   b. It offers the opportunity to explore such issues as leadership, decision-making, power, persuasion, affection, problem-solving and consensus.
   c. It offers the possibility of setting up a positive environment into which individuals can place their problems and concerns, and have them dealt with in a supportive manner.
   d. If all administrators, supervisors and instructors share these experiences with the interns, there is a higher probability that all members of the project will maintain honest and useful communication throughout the duration of the program.

The affective thrust is promoted by the small numbers in the program, and the fact that administration, instruction, supervision, and counselling are done by the same five individuals. In addition, consultant services of the American Management Training Services Corporation of Pittsburg, California, helped to

give the trainers and trainees a sense of commitment and candor during the initial summer training.

At this point I should state a clear bias, which applies not only to PUTEP, but also to Adams' efforts in other contexts. Quite simply, we felt that the affective atmosphere of schooling (and by extension, training for schooling) was the most critical area to alter. Therefore we made the affective thrust for both Adams and PUTEP the highest priority. In a program which attempted to train Black teachers to enter what may be perceived as an alien system, the affective or supportive qualities of preparation are viewed as crucial.

2. The cognitive thrust. The cognitive thrust in teacher preparation should include acquisition of skills, and understandings, which lead to effective student learning. Both B-2 nationally, and the Oregon State Department of Education are committed to performance-based teacher preparation. In the first two cycles of PUTEP, however, we have quite frankly moved only at a snail's pace toward a true performance-based program. This is partly due to our affective priority, partly because we have few operationally visible performance-based programs to learn from, and partly because we suffered from a heavy demand to become operational with all speed. Our short range efforts, therefore, involved taking old course titles and re-emphasizing, reorganizing, augmenting, and deleting topics which conventionally are subsumed under these titles.

In our view a block program has the advantage of dealing with topics, problems, competencies and concerns in an inter-disciplinary fashion. The program provides for wide choices of experiences which are examined in a way which aims at being flexible, vigorously analytical, and intellectually stimulating. The block seminar has the following specific qualities:

1. It is an outgrowth of the perceived or felt needs of both the trainers and trainees.
2. It ranges from the theoretical to the specific, with trainees being involved in both phases of instruction.
3. It involves a team of instructors with individualized strengths and a willingness and ability to plan together, sometimes teaching individually, sometimes teaching together.
4. It allows an individual trainee to act as a primary instructor during a sequence of instruction, should that instruction focus on an area of his strength.
5. It involves multi-consultants and related field experiences tied integrally to the over-all instructional program, thereby extending the range of skills and competencies beyond those held by the team of primary instructors.
6. It is flexible and combines elements of individual instruction, small group instruction, and whole or large group instruction. These various patterns of instruction are utilized depending upon the generalizeable nature and/or interest of the subject being presented.

Our long range goal is to adapt our instruction and supervision to a fully competency-based program, but one which still retains a strong affective flavor. A competent teacher *knows* some things, *feels* some things and *does* some things, with and for students. We are striving for a balance of knowing and feeling within the *doing* context of performance.

C. Role of Individual Supervisor-Instructor

The supervisor-instructors are the crucial intermediaries in the preparation program. They are the direct connection of the program to the individual trainee. Ideally they are a supportive source of information and guidance. They each have unique skills in instruction and analysis of instruction upon which the interns can draw. Inevitably they evaluate the performance of the interns. Collectively they construct the block seminar. One instructor supervises six PUTEP interns in two other buildings, four other non-PUTEP interns at Adams, and has the overall responsibility for coordinating the block seminars. A second instructor teaches one half time at Adams, and supervises PUTEP interns in three other buildings, in addition to his seminar responsibilities. A third instructor has PUTEP administrative duties, supervises interns in three buildings, and teaches within the block seminar. This year the overall staff includes five individuals, three white, two Black.

The supervisor-instructor is the key to individualization of the program for trainees. He is able to view trainees in many contexts:

1. As a member of the teaching team in which he interns.
2. As a classroom teacher, in large group, and small group settings, as well as working with individual students.
3. In the tutorial context of lesson planning and evaluation sessions.
4. In the context of the block seminars.
5. Through the written work that he turns in.
6. In a social context, . . . playing cards, drinking beer, etc.
7. By seeing and talking to other instructors and trainees who see the trainee in each of these settings.

RESULTS

The goals of PUTEP, as stated earlier, are to prepare teachers to be successful with disadvantaged students and to bring more Black adults into professional educational positions. With one cycle completed, and the second in process, we have some evidence that these two goals have been at least partially fulfilled.

During the first cycle of PUTEP we admitted and initiated teacher preparation for twenty-two adults, of whom fifteen were Black, and seven white. Of those admitted, eighteen completed the entire program and were certificated, twelve

Black and six white. As of January, 1971, sixteen of those completing the program were working in schools, of whom twelve (nine Black and three white) were employed within the Portland schools. In a year in which jobs were extremely difficult to get, a higher proportion of PUTEP graduates found jobs than the graduates of any other teacher preparation program operating within the Portland schools. This index, allied with statements by school principals, leads us to the conclusion that our goal of producing the kind of specialized teachers which school districts wish to hire has been reasonably successful. Despite the extremely small numbers, the Black teachers hired by the Portland School District from PUTEP represented a 30 per cent increase in the total number of certificated Black teachers working in its secondary schools!

By the mid-point of the first cycle, we were given a great deal of encouragement to continue the program for a second cycle. Unfortunately, a reduced amount of federal funds was available. The Portland School District, however, increased its proportion of funding from just over 20 per cent the first year, to just under 60 per cent the second year. This increase suggests substantial school district support for the program.

Admittedly, the number of trainees hired, and the proportion of school district budgetary support, are extremely gross and tentative measures of program quality. Our process and product evaluation have been very limited, partly by design and partly by accident. As might be expected, our evaluation efforts have centered upon noting changes in attitude. Members of the first cycle were administered "critical incident" tests, as well as a series of semantic differential instruments. Rough findings (limited, of course, by our extremely small numbers) lead us to the conclusion that there was a statistically significant shift towards the positive in group attitudes toward teaching and schooling. Particularly interesting was the positive shift in attitudes by the Black men in the program—a substantially greater shift than for Black women or for white men or women. In future programs we plan to concentrate on measuring gains in cognitive competencies and skills, as well as to refine our procedures for measuring affective change.

As can readily be ascertained from this paper, our notions of altering teacher preparation, in addition to being affectively oriented, are very *structural* in nature. We emphasize concepts such as *where* something should happen, *who* should be responsible, *what* (but not as explicitly *how*) certain kinds of theory and experience should inter-connect. In our analysis of the anomalies of schooling and training, however, we see structural change as a crucial first series of steps.

In conclusion, PUTEP is attempting to revise the context and process of teacher preparation in the same sense that Adams High School is trying to revise the context and process of schooling. Initial results for both are encouraging; a great deal of additional work must be done to properly evaluate these revisions.

CERTIFICATION; TENURE

All agree that the present system of certification is ineffective in the selection of "good teachers." One suggestion is that the school become involved earlier in the process of training teachers and the university become responsible for continuing some kind of a relationship through tenure, thus making the entire "degree-certification-tenure" decision a shared one. Some mechanisms must be found for "credentialling" whoever can do the job.

The Newman Commission, beginning as an independent Task Force funded by the Ford Foundation, has now been assigned by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson, the task of making specific recommendations for implementing the changes proposed in their first report, *Report on Higher Education*. The chapter from that report which is reprinted here points out the inequities of the present system of credentialling and suggests that alternate paths to certification are needed. Hopefully, further recommendations by the Commission in this area will contain more detailed suggestions for specific mechanisms which would make credentialling reform possible.

Bowman, in his article, points out how certification is tied in with the whole area of accreditation; both systems interfere with a) a unified approach to teacher-training involving the Teachers College and the Arts and Sciences College in a single system, b) an interdepartmental approach to learning, c) the representation of a wider range of cultures and life-styles in the teaching profession, and d) the development of a spirit of experimentalism in the teaching and the teacher education field.

The Johnson court decision illustrates present difficulties in defining tenure criteria so that they are useful in evaluating teacher performance. School-based training up to tenure should be based on:

a) a definition of tenure which is clearly related to a teacher's capacity to do a good job of teaching, and

b) a provision for review of the tenure decision based on the teacher's "professionalism" after tenure is offered. The training canons developed could then be related to tenure mechanisms.

"In rating the quality of the graduates it's based strictly on his ability to memorize and give back Dewey's philosophy of education, and the different psychology theories, so that once again the highest scores and the better grades are important—it is not based on whether or not you can interact with kids, have empathy for kids, understand kids. A credential says that you can memorize all of the crap that you got in the teacher education courses."

—José Cardenas, see p. 96.

MS. SIZEMORE:

In Chicago we have a large Puerto Rican population; there are very few people who speak Spanish who are placed in the schools where Puerto Ricans are concentrated. If the teacher training institutions do not feel that the teachers who teach in Spanish-speaking schools need to know Spanish, then it seems to me that there should be another supportive service there that can speak Spanish, large enough for the Spanish-speaking community to communicate with the school.

There are other areas, like the whole area for performing arts and music and fine arts, that this country just abandons as insignificant. If you were born today with the talent to be the next Jascha Heifetz, you could just be missed. It would be like being born in the 21st century with the capacity to be the world's champion chariot driver. You would be missed, because the schools are just not concerned with that kind of talent, those gifts that the people are still born with. Since we don't have too many students who could be potential Jascha Heifetzes, we ought to have people to come into the school to take a group of children and instruct them in the creative skills. And "credentials" of a formal sort are not what certifies an artist. We also have a lot of other children who are gifted in the areas of dance, in the area of drama, in the area of language and art that are so inhibited.

We still require teacher certification credentials for people who are in the area of vocational education—industrial arts, electronics, television, et cetera. I think this is disastrous, because those people who have skills are not interested in trying to get those credentials which they feel are useless. We have a print

shop at Woodlawn for which we couldn't even get a teacher for two years. An electronics shop the same way. We couldn't get anybody to teach in it. I think that we need to take a new look at the credentialling process, especially for expertise in areas where education courses may not be necessary.

MR. FREEMAN:

At the present time, if you get the degree, you get the certificate. In some states, it may be a master's degree rather than a bachelor's degree; for all practical purposes, the degree is what gets you the certificate. It seems to me that what needs to be done is to separate the degree-granting process from the credentialling process so that the degree becomes a kind of certification that a person has indeed gone through this course of study. He may or may not get this certificate; the certificate should be based on his skill. There aren't many states that credential non-degree people, are there?

MR. FOSTER:

No. But there are many states in which you have the degree and still do not get the credentials.

MS. SIZEMORE:

Yes. Like Chicago. The degree does not give you a certificate in Chicago.

MR. FREEMAN:

If the degree granting process and certification are not the same process in some states, how do all those bad teachers get credentials? Who is it that supports them for the credentialling if the university is not the agency that supports them?

MS. SIZEMORE:

NTE, National Teaching Establishment.

MR. SALMON:

It's the teaching association that supports certification; that's where the power is.

MR. FREEMAN:

I'm talking about the individual.

MR. FOSTER:
The state.

MR. SPILLANE:
The licensing examination does not necessarily predict a good teacher, but you must pass the licensing examination.

MS. SIZEMORE:
Like passing the bar.

MR. FREEMAN:
And who's responsible for the licensing examination, the state?

MS. SIZEMORE:
The state.

MR. SPILLANE:
New York City.

MR. FREEMAN:
I am aware of those exceptions. But, then, the power resides in the state. And it's solely based on the examination?

MR. SALMON:
It's known as the plumber mentality.

MR. FREEMAN:
Solely based on the examination?

MS. SIZEMORE:
Right.

MR. SALMON:
You pass your apprenticeship and say the right things and you get in.

MS. SIZEMORE:
You can't do it without a degree, but the degree won't get you into the Chicago Public Schools. And you have to have the degree to get a certificate.

MR. SALMON:
In California, all that has to happen is that the institution certifies that you are qualified, or, even more loosely, you fill

out a direct application to the State Department of Education showing that you had certain courses and they do it. Nobody has to test you. The testing thing is coming in now.

MR. CARDENAS:

In rating the quality of the graduates it's based strictly on his ability to memorize and give back Dewey's philosophy of education and the different psychology theories, so that once again the highest scores and the better grades are important—it is not based on whether or not you can interact with kids, have empathy for kids, understand kids. A credential says that you can memorize all the crap that you got in the teacher education courses.

MS. SIZEMORE:

And if the kids you teach haven't got good memories, they don't know what to do.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

I'm reasonably comfortable with the distinction that you made, Larry (Freeman). Realistically speaking, we are probably not going to have much influence over the autonomy of the university in determining who gets a degree. We damn well better have some influence over, first the certification process and, second over the decision about tenure.

It seems to me that the way the system is now structured, the university, in effect, washes its hands of its graduates the moment it gives them a diploma. We have a split responsibility: the university is responsible for undergraduate teacher education, but the school districts are responsible for continuing whatever education the teacher receives after graduation. The school districts by and large have not had the resources to handle that problem.

Perhaps a different kind of partnership is needed which would see the school begin to get involved in the training of potential teachers much earlier in the game but would also presume on the part of the university a continuing relationship with that teacher up, at least, to the point of tenure.

There ought to be some mechanism for making sure the tenure decision is a shared one. The university ought to feel that the

person to whom it has given a degree and recommended for certification is, in fact, capable of being a career teacher.

MR. OLSON:

We could develop a notion together—that it would take so-and-so much to create a school-centered teacher training process which will affect the whole university and continue up to the tenure decision. We should be able to suggest something about the certification process so that the schools say, "Certification isn't a responsibility of the state; it's up to X kind of process to do the certification statement," so that somebody has the right to get in touch with somebody else's kids. And, secondly, the schools are going to do something with respect to tenure decisions. These seem to me to be pressure points that you have available to you.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

Dick Foster talked about the free market in the process. If it gets known that a kid in Berkeley has two choices—he can take a five-year program on the university campus or take a certificate program in the schools—and that the only hiring will be of kids that come through on a certificate program, the market is such that you would be swamped. Then you can talk about redirecting some of the money, either federal or state money that's going to universities, for certificate-type training in the school districts.

I wouldn't give an across-the-board license to all school districts to set up their own certificate programs. All the Office of Education has to do in effect is say, "We're open to proposals from school districts that believe that they can offer a certificate program. You have got to come up with a program, and a plan complete with evaluation."

MR. SALMON:

Success is finally going to be determined by whether the graduates of that course really are significantly better than the others.

MR. FOSTER:

I wouldn't say that the graduate has to be better. But I think

there are three or four things that a teacher needs as a base that you can't learn over at that college. Let me just try several on you.

First: you have to learn to negotiate a contract with a kid. And the only way you can learn to negotiate a contract is to go to him to see whether you can negotiate a relationship with him.

Second: the only way you can learn to see whether a person should teach is the possibility that you can set up a relationship between the two of you in which you know who you are and he knows who he is, and that relationship is understood. You have got to have kids around to practice on, to develop that kind of situation.

Third: the only way you can find out whether you can teach a Black kid or a Chicano kid or a poor kid is to have a Black kid, a Chicano kid, or a poor kid alone.

Fourth: you can set up a relationship with his parents in which you are a trustworthy person and perceived as such in that relationship, whether you are Black, white, Chicano, whatever the case may be.

The only way you will know whether you can be a teacher is when you can move from one kid and set up a relationship of learning with a small group of kids involving the four items I have mentioned.

All of these things are teachable if there are kids around; over at the university they talk about how you set up a clinical relationship with the kids, and there aren't any kids around.

MS. SIZEMORE:

Your proposal has one limitation: kids are not in the schools. The Black male youths are not in the schools for anybody to help. They are out on the street. I want them dealt with. And I am saying that the people who can teach them are in the gang, in the pool hall, on the street. I want to know how do I give credentials to a Blackstone Ranger who can teach forty boys how to read.

MR. SPILLANE:

If the Ranger is successful in teaching, he gets his credential.

MR. FOSTER:

Learning doesn't have to be limited to the school building as such. With 23 alternatives we will be operating next year, five are not in schools.

MS. SIZEMORE:

Okay.

MR. FOSTER:

One's in a warehouse, one is in a community building; I don't care where the place is. I want to have one more thing. I want to be able to say that if that person can do the job, I can grant him a credential without a degree.

MS. SIZEMORE:

I think probably you're going to have to do it in stages. First, a certificate in a program with a degree. And then a certificate in a program based on performance—the guy can do the job of teaching. I think there are some states, Washington and Massachusetts, for example, that are really moving toward this sort of performance-based certification.

The Credentials Monopoly[1]

No one wants to be operated on by someone who professes to be a doctor but has not been qualified by competent authorities. Certification procedures—including the awarding of grades and degrees by colleges and universities—are a necessary part of our system of public protection and a convenience to everyone. But when the reliance on education credentials compels individuals to spend tedious hours and years in school against their interest, perpetuates social inequality, gives one group in society unique and arbitrary power over the lives of many, establishes conditions in which people will be dissatisfied and unhappy with their jobs, undermines the educational process, and all this unnecessarily—then the time has come to change these practices.

The inequities and absurdities of the current state of affairs are finally being recognized. In the expanding economy of the 1960's, the need for labor heightened awareness that formal educational requirements might be keeping individuals out of jobs. Concern for minorities focused attention on hiring practices which seemed discriminatory. Many still in school rebelled against the arbitrary authority which the schools seemed to have over them. Articles with titles such as "Would Horatio Alger Need a Degree?"[2] appeared, questioning whether grades and degrees really relate to success in later life. Yet the credentials system continues, and, in some cases, becomes more restrictive.

Job Screening and Job Performance

College credentials are not only a highly prized status symbol, but also the key to many of the well-paying and satisfying jobs in American society. For the past 20 years, personnel managers in both government and industry have screened prospective employees on the basis of degrees—hiring those first with the longest attendance in school. Educational institutions as employers are, as one would expect, among the most insistent that their employees have full credentials. In some cases, school districts regularly base teachers' salaries on the number of credits earned toward higher degrees in order to encourage them to the maximum formal education.[3]

From the studies we have seen and the interviews we have had with employers, we believe that educational credentials are not only increasingly required for jobs, but that the requirements themselves are rising. Technological changes sometimes force skill requirements up, but our judgment is that, in

[1] Chapter 9 (pp. 38-43) of *Report on Higher Education*, a report prepared by an independent Task Force—Frank Newman, Chairman—funded by the Ford Foundation and published by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—Office of Education. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 1971, Catalog No. HE 5.250:50065.

[2] James W. Kuhn, "Would Horatio Alger Need a Degree?," *Saturday Review*, December 19, 1970.

[3] Ivar Berg, "Rich Man's Qualifications for Poor Man's Jobs," *Trans-Action*, March 1969, p. 46.

many cases, these requirements are going up arbitrarily. As the supply of formally trained and educated individuals has increased, employers have simply responded by raising their standards, even though the jobs themselves may not have changed. This is particularly evident at the high school level, where the possession of a degree is a necessary admission ticket even to semiskilled jobs;[4] yet it is also increasingly true at the college level. In some places, educational requirements for jobs vary with the academic calendar, rising as the end of the school year approaches and new graduates flood the market.[5]

While educational credentials are, in many cases, indispensable for getting a job, there is increasing evidence that they have little to do with how well an individual performs a job. A recent and instructive study of this issue was conducted by Ivar Berg of Columbia University.[6] Berg inquired whether better educated employees in a variety of occupations—textile workers, installation workers of a utility company, workers in a hosiery manufacturing plant, technicians in a paper company, secretaries, insurance agents, bank tellers, air traffic control personnel—performed better than their co-workers who had less formal education. Using a range of measures of performance—promotions, merit pay increases, employer evaluations, dollar value of insurance policies sold, etc.—Berg found that they did not, and concluded that many employers demanded too much formal education for the jobs they offer. He also found that "overeducation" was a prime cause of dissatisfaction and turnover.

One might suspect that the lack of a positive relationship between formal education and on-the-job performance might be characteristic of blue-collar and white-collar jobs but not of the professions, where extensive formal training is a prerequisite to entering a field. But, while there are obvious minimum competencies required to be, for example, a successful architect, the relationship between formal education and performance is not nearly as direct as might be assumed. One review of a number of studies covering students trained in business, school teaching, engineering, medicine, and scientific research found almost no correlation between the course grades of students in these fields and their on-the-job performance.[7]

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[4] The 1969 *Manpower Report* of the Secretary of Labor says that even to work in semiskilled trades, "a high school education or prior skill training (or both) is likely to be increasingly necessary as the supply of persons with such preparation becomes larger." Quoted in James W. Kuhn, *op cit.*, p. 55. Valuable data can be found in the *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin no. 1970-71; and *College Educated Workers, 1968-80: A Study of Supply and Demand*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin no. 1676, 1970.

[5] Ivar Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[6] Ivar Berg, *Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery*, Praeger, New York, 1970.

[7] Donald P. Hoyt, *The Relationship Between College Grades and Adult Achievement: A Review of the Literature*, American College Testing Service Research Reports, no. 7, Fall 1965. This study has been criticized, but we found nothing much to replace it. In a study conducted for the Carnegie Commission, Spaeth and Greeley found that grades have a substantial impact on the prestige of the occupation held by a man 7 years after graduation. However, this impact probably derives from the importance of grades in getting rather than performing a job. The authors also found that as later variables were added to the model, the direct effect of grades diminished. See Joe L. Spaeth and Andrew M. Greeley, *Recent Alumni and Higher Education*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1970, p. 167.

Men who hold degrees in management are among the most sought-after of university graduates. Yet a study of the career records of nearly 1,000 graduates of the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration led one scholar to conclude that the academic success of these graduates was not associated with their business achievements.[8] Another study of the median salaries of graduates of the same school found that the salaries leveled off approximately 15 years after the graduates entered business, and, on the average, did not increase significantly thereafter.[9] These studies suggest that the men who get to the top in management have developed skills that are simply not taught by formal education. Finding problems and opportunities, initiating action, and following through to attain the desired results requires behavior which is neither measured by examinations nor developed by discussing in the classroom what someone else should do.

There would be great humor in this situation were not so many individual lives so deeply affected. Colleges and universities are filled with people who seek only to be certified. Yet the grades and degrees these institutions issue are used as false currency in the employment market—they really testify to little about an individual's chance for success. (Disputes among educational institutions concerning transfer credits and credentials suggest that they themselves don't honor this currency.) Meanwhile, employers act against their own self-interest by continuing to raise the educational standards for the jobs they have to fill.

Monopolistic Practices

Credentials—in a generic sense—are awarded by many institutions. Employers often regard service in the Army, a stint in the Peace Corps, or membership on the college football team as valuable experiences, but they are not regarded as educational credentials; these can only be awarded by formal educational institutions. Moreover, the only way to acquire educational credentials is to accumulate academic credits, which, for most individuals, means putting in time at educational institutions. The bachelor's degree certifies a certain level of competency; what it really involves is 4 years at college.

Over the years, periodic reforms have been undertaken designed to speed the acquiring of a degree. In 1951, the Ford Foundaiton helped initiate an advanced placement program whereby high school students in their senior year could take special "college level" courses. Upon the successful completion of advanced placement examinations, these students could then receive exemption from certain courses and advanced standing in college. In 1955,

[8] Gordon L. Marshall, "Predicting Executive Achievement," unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, June 1964. Quoted in Sterling Livingston, "Myth of the Well-Educated Manager," *Harvard Business Review*, January-February 1971, p. 80.

[9] Lewis B. Ward, *Analysis of 1969 Alumni Questionnaire Returns*, an unpublished report to the faculty, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1970. Quoted in Sterling Livingston, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

this program was taken over by the College Entrance Examination Board, which has since developed standardized tests. Yet these tests are available only in certain fields and can be substituted only for particular courses—usually after difficult negotiation with the faculties concerned. They make the lockstep process only slightly more bearable for aggressive students.

There are, of course, boards and agencies for a number of professions—often backed by State law—which certify and license individuals to perform certain tasks. But rather than provide alternative routes, nearly all of these agencies reinforce the monopoly which educational institutions have over the awarding of credentials. Medical licensing requirements are a recognized scandal[10]—but so are practices in other fields. Thirty-three states now have laws requiring individuals to possess a law school degree before being admitted to legal practice, and in 13 states, the American Bar Association must itself accredit the law schools.

The system is nearly as self-contained and self-reinforcing in a great many nonprofessional fields. There are approximately 550 licensed occupations in the United States, with the occupations licensed in each State varying widely.[11] Many State licensing boards not only have the authority to accept new practitioners into an occupation, but also to suspend licenses and oversee practices. Seldom is there consensus as to what constitutes a qualified individual. Many of the licensing boards do not use standard tests to determine technical qualifications. If an individual moves to another state, he may well have to retake whatever tests exist, or even return to school.

Should an experienced nurse's aide wish to become a licensed practical nurse, she must leave her job, enter and complete a nursing school program. Rarely is there any consideration of her previous experience on the wards. Having finally become a licensed practical nurse, she may later aspire to advance in her field and become a registered nurse. Yet to do so, she must again return to school to climb the next rung of the educational ladder, and, in many cases, begin again as a freshman.

In almost every other occupational field, a parallel situation exists. Occupations are conceived of as discrete, each requiring a certain term of formal education. Rarely is there provision for competency testing to waive requirements. Mobility is further restricted because schools are organized on the basis of administrative convenience rather than the specific needs of people. Enrollment can take place only at specified times. Night courses in many fields are diminishing.

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[10] Some limited progress is being made because the critical needs for health manpower have created so much pressure for change. See "New Members of the Physician's Health Team, Physicians' Assistants," 1970, *Report of the Ad Hoc Panel on New Members of the Physician's Health Team of the Board on Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences*, and *Selected Training Programs for Physician Support Personnel*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bureau of Health Professions, Education, and Manpower Training, June 1970.

[11] See "Occupational Licensing and the Supply of the Nonprofessional Worker," *Manpower Research Monograph No. 11*, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Certification and Education: Growing Conflict

If the educational purposes of colleges and universities were well served by the monopoly they hold over the administration of examinations, grades, and degrees, it would be harder to see a way out of the current state of affairs. But they are not.

Grades recognize and reward academic achievement. Degrees identify different levels of achievement and different types of programs, and hence mark out the courses of instruction which are open to students. Both, we believe, are necessary to most educational institutions and can be used to strengthen the educational mission.[12] Yet there is also a conflict between the functions of providing education and certifying competency. The conflict is made more acute because there are no other ways for individuals to become certified.

This force-draft education often poisons attitudes toward learning which is equated with formal education. The enormous value of a liberal education has little to do with getting a credential. Those who leave without a degree often carry with them a sense of failure. One observer goes so far as to suggest that the function of 2-year institutions in higher education is to convince students and their parents gently that they were not really suited for college in the first place.[13]

As certifying institutions, colleges have developed a host of devices—examinations, grades, academic requirements, residency requirements, and so forth—which require administrators and faculty members to exercise constant authority over the work and lives of students. As resentment toward these practices has grown, it has become increasingly difficult to combine the roles of teacher and judge. We have seen many students who have rejected formal teaching and learning altogether because they reject the arbitrary authority which faculty members and administrators hold over their lives.

Lowering the Credentials Barrier

It is time to halt the enormous and growing power which colleges and universities have as sorting and screening institutions.[14] One necessary course of action is to reduce the reliance on educational credentials as admission tickets to careers. We must develop mechanisms and criteria for measuring an individual's potential for a job that are more relevant than those now universally assumed to be valid. Some studies suggest that motivation, per-

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[12] See Stephen Spurr, *Academic Degree Structures: Innovative Approaches*, general report to the Carnegie Commission, 1970.

[13] Burton R. Clark, "The 'Cooling Out' Function in Higher Education," *American Journal of Sociology*, May 1960.

[14] For some useful analyses and recommended solutions, see Amital Etzioni and Murray Milner, *Higher Education in An Active Society: A Policy Study*, Bureau of Social Science Research, Washington, 1970, pp. I–154 to I–179; David Hapgood, "Degrees: The Case for Abolition," *The Washington Monthly*, August 1969, pp. 6–13; and S. M. Miller and Marsh Kroll, "Strategies for Reducing Credentialism," *Action for Change in Public Service Careers*, Summer 1970, pp. 10–13.

severance, and experience might be identified by new kinds of tests which employers could utilize. But far more valid, we believe, would be apprenticeship arrangements and other forms of "pre-career" training, in which employers would hire without excessive regard for the amount of formal education applicants have had—and perhaps with the understanding that they will have additional opportunities to pursue formal education later in life.

Colleges and universities can do their part to reduce the overreliance on credentials. They can study what happens to their graduates, and what the correlations are between academic success and occupational performance. They can treat their credentials as internal matters, between the school and the student, and resist servicing government and industry by providing spurious predictions as to how a given graduate will fare in a new role.

The more immediate need, however, is to break the credentials monopoly by opening up alternative routes to obtaining credentials. The monopolistic power of existing colleges and universities cannot be justified on the grounds of their effectiveness in screening for occupational performance, nor on the grounds that being the sole agencies for awarding degrees and credentials is necessary to their educational mission. Internal reforms now under way—a de-emphasis on grades, more independent work, credit for off-campus experience, modest expansion in the use of equivalency examinations—are important but not enough. New paths to certification are needed.

Accreditation and Credentialling in the Education of Teachers

James Bowman[1]

> There is an old medicine man at Zuni who has agreed to take three of the primary children out for a walk each day; in the process, they talk about the vegetation and its significance in the older culture, its name both in English and in the older language. It is a very good experience. I was describing that to someone who told me, "But you know that's against the state law. The school is liable. He is not a certified teacher. It is also during the school day." And it is at this point that you really have to ask the question about who is the teacher. Not only legally, but morally, who is the teacher?[2]

One of the major pressure points for reform in education lies in the widespread dissatisfaction with the present system of accreditation and certification. Although a mass of protest against the system has been raised from a broad field of educators few changes have occurred.

Present Office of Education as well as national policy in respect to educational reform includes the following goals:

1. The bringing together of the Arts and Science College and the Teachers College into a single system.
2. The representing in the teaching profession of a wider range of cultures and life-styles.
3. The increasing of experimentalism in the teaching and teacher education field.

The accreditation/certification monopoly may present an impediment to the realization of any of these goals.

The Arts and Sciences—Teachers College Dichotomy

The transformation, in the 1950's and 60's, of the single purpose teachers college (recruiting students from the local community and training them to be teachers in that community) to large multi-purpose institutions (attracting students from a broader area and in a labor short market, placing many of them far from the training site) resulted in a division of responsibility for the teacher

[1] James Bowman is assistant to the director of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers.

[2] Vito Perrone in *Education for 1984 and After*, edited by Paul A. Olson, Larry Freeman and James Bowman, published by the Directorate of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers.

training process. As a result, the Arts and Science College in the multiversity or complex state college received from 60 to 80 per cent of the load. With the demise of the "laboratory school," the school system took over the practice teaching, and the school of education was now left with the "foundations and methods" courses.[3] This fragmentation is maintained by the accreditation process. NCATE (The National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education) will not approve a teacher training institution unless it has already met the requirements of the state and the regional accrediting agency. The regional agency's concern as it relates to teacher education is primarily the approval of the "disciplines" component of the institution and of the graduate program which largely dominates the agendas of the disciplines:

> The regionals, as a rule, have treated teacher education as one element in the total institutional evaluation. When teacher education has been of minor importance in the total institutional program, an institution with strong academic departments but weak professional education would normally receive full accreditation. On the contrary, an institution with a strong teacher education emphasis, if strong academically and weak professionally, might be given provisional accreditation or denied it altogether.[4]

NCATE, in allowing the regionals to accredit the disciplines, is relinquishing power to an agency whose primary values do not lie in the area of evaluating good teaching or a good educational program, particularly a program focused on the production of good teachers for the common schools. The effect is to fragment the system even further and to support those institutions which emphasize the academic disciplines as service departments for graduate interests over the "training of teachers" function of departments in the Arts and Science college. Indeed, a humanistic mission which extends into the greater society is not generally supported. Mayor's report in 1965 recommended that NCATE and the regionals visit the institution at the same time so that the total program for educating teachers could be looked at. This suggestion has not been followed.

What about NCATE itself? NCATE guidelines, as Mayor indicates and as the 1970 standard also asserts, support the notion that there should be joint Arts and Science - Education responsibility for the general studies component and the teaching aspect of the program. However, many NCATE approved institutions do not really have such committees as standing committees; they are often powerless, paper organizations created to pass inspection.

Regarding the evaluation of curricula, NCATE is content to review the

[3] See Paul A. Olson's study: "The Preparation of the Teacher: An Evaluation of the State of the Art" in *Education for 1984 and After* for the historical background of this movement.

[4] pp. 47-48 in *Accreditation in Teacher Education: Its Influence on Higher Education*, a report by John R. Mayor to the National Commission on Accrediting.

pattern of courses; no information is provided on the content of courses or their usefulness to particular or difficult teaching situations.

Access to Teaching Professions

> A Sioux woman who takes Sioux language and culture at the University (North Dakota) probably managed to finish the ninth grade: she is one of the finest teachers I have ever seen; her work with undergraduate students is exemplary. Could she teach at the high school? No. She couldn't teach at the high school because she lacks all of the certification to teach in that setting. Yet, she has more to contribute to the study of the history, language, culture of her own community than anyone else in the school.[5]

The states in many areas in earlier decades of this century were concerned that "uneducated" or illiterate persons find their way into classrooms as teachers, and they made a list of courses which one would have to have taken if he were to teach at a certain level. This gradually was phased out and the "state approved program" accreditation substituted as a major determinant of who would receive credentials to teach and which colleges would offer the credentials. NCATE recognizes this and will not approve of a program that is not state approved. NASDEC (National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification), under the influence of the various professional associations, has developed more through guidelines in each of the disciplines but still lacks a total institutional perspective. "Approved programs" in the Arts and Sciences are largely a list of departmental topics to be covered analogous to courses.

It is possible that even though a person graduates from a program which meets the approval of state, regional agency, and NCATE, he will still be unable to meet the requirements of a teaching position. Most of the school districts in our largest cities include local testing. The New York City Board of Examiners, for example, could require any of these: written test, oral English test, interview test, group interview test, teaching test, performance test, supervisor's test, rating of training and experience, and physical and mental examination. Harvey Scribner, Chancellor of the New York City Public School System, recently refused to defend in court, a challenge to this testing procedure.

To get through this kind of bureaucracy requires a certain kind of personality and cultural style. It is possible for a teacher to be licensed to teach a class of students whose first language is entirely foreign to that teacher. Another teacher may be denied a license in Illinois if he does not know Illinois history or if the media center of his training institution is found to be undersupplied. Given this kind of system, entering into the teaching professions is

[5] Vito Perrone in *Education for 1984 and After.*

extremely difficult for people whose values and life-styles do not permit conforming to the curricula requirements and bureaucratic procedures which are not only strange but often times antithetical to their values and their way of life

Hindrance to Experimentation

Present accreditation/certification practices also militate against any experimentation in the field of teaching. Since NCATE will not accredit an institution (1) that is not already approved by the state; (2) that has not been approved, academically, by the regional agency and; (3) that has not graduated students, the possibility of new programs in teacher-education are practically nil. It would take many years for a new program to receive approval from all three agencies; it could not be approved until it had graduates. Until it was approved, its graduates could not receive certificates in many states. NCATE recognizes what it calls "responsible experimentation." However, its standard of evaluating, which amounts to a reformulation of the traditional departmental structure, puts considerable pressure on the institution to conform to existing patterns of teacher training and prevents any serious competition from new and different programs.

The effect of present accreditation and certification practices on funding procedures from the federal to the local level compounds the difficulties of educational reform. Many governmental as well as non-governmental agencies make policy and funding commitments based on the accreditation status of programs and individuals within the programs. Within the Office of Education, accreditation is usually the prerequisite for funding. "Early outs" from the Armed Services for educational purposes are granted only for those persons attending accredited programs. Only faculty from accredited institutions can be members of the American Association of University Professors. Supplementary state funding for local school districts is based on the number of teachers holding the proper credentials. These are just a few examples of a large and complicated network of rules controlling policy making and distribution of monies which wields a tremendous amount of power in the direction of keeping things as they are and strictly controlling the form of educational programs, their content, and more important, who gets access to them.

An attempt to reform the teacher certification process is being made by NEA (National Education Association). Their office has prepared a model "Teacher Licensing and Practices Act" which they currently are pushing in eight state legislatures: New Mexico, Kansas, Wyoming, Iowa, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. This legislation places the preparation, licensing, and certain aspects of performance in the hands of the teaching profession through a "Teacher Licensing and Practices Commission."

The commission:

1. Would be appointed by the governor from a list of nominees by teachers or teacher organizations.

2. Would include two administrators, two higher education people, one education specialist and one assistant.

3. Would grant licenses conditional to possession of an acceptable degree.

Accountability to Client Community

Such a plan is not accountable to the client community. The position of the professional teachers in the public school is not like that of other professionals who are self-employed and whose clients come on a voluntary basis. The model legislation if passed would provide for no public representation; the parent would be in a position (as he now is) of placing his child under the authority of a teacher whose presence in the school is legitimated by mechanisms outside his control.

This accountability issue is central to all aspects of the accreditation/certification problem. Whereas accrediting and certification agencies have great powers to shape educational standards and practices, to determine eligibilty for funding, and to control access to the teaching professions, they are at the same time effectually without any "consumer" representation. Moreover, the public does not, in most instances, have access to the decisions the agencies make or to the process by which those decisions are reached.

Several changes may be in order:

Regarding accreditation:

1. The accreditation and credentialling processes should be separated.

2. The function of accreditation should be an institution-building function related to regional educational needs.

3. The accreditation agencies may need to broaden their bases. In NCATE's case, that would mean including (a) consumer interests and (b) Arts and Science people.

4. A procedure needs to be developed which will *quickly* recognize new and different programs on a trial basis.

5. All legal powers should be taken away from private accrediting agencies.

Regarding certification:

1. Having separated the credentialling process from accreditation, the former should be seen and used as a tool for describing individual work skills.

2. Non-job-related credential barriers should be removed, opening the teaching professions to a wider range of cultures and life-styles.

3. Barriers to reciprocity should be removed.

4. Like accreditation, certification should be opened up to public representation.

We are presently at ground zero when it comes to clearly stating what an effective teacher is (in terms that can be used in measuring and evaluating for the purpose of training teachers and determining who should and who shouldn't be allowed in the classroom). For this reason accreditation and certification requirements ought to be carefully tested, cautiously applied, and open to change in any process of approval.[6]

[6] Dennis Doyle, "A Proposal for a Commission on the Licensing of Teachers," *Education for 1984 and After*, proposes the formation of a national commission as one way of attempting credentialling reform.

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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF NEBRASKA

The following court decision relating to the dismissal of a teacher on grounds of incompetency and failure to give evidence of professional growth is important not because of the decision that was made (the court ordered a reinstatement of the teacher based on failure of due process) but because of the issues raised regarding tenure. Much of the material in the court decision has been cut for the purpose of focusing on the issues relating to tenure.

The Johnson case shows the extent to which present tenure criteria in many schools are virtually meaningless. The charges made against Johnson by the School Board relate to his manner of teaching, his handling of pupils, and his relationship with parents. The court found reports of general negative classroom atmosphere and classroom statements by Johnson to be objectionable but rejected this evidence as falling outside of Nebraska statutory criteria of professional growth on which tenure is based. On questions of tenure, then, the courts have final power.

ROBERT L. JOHNSON,

Plaintiff.

vs.

CATHERINE ANGLE, EDWARD COPPLE, MARVIN STEWART, DR. JOHN E. LUX, ROBERT MAGEE, ROBERT WEKESSER, JOHN PRASCH, THE SCHOOL DISTRICT OF LINCOLN, LANCASTER COUNTY, NEBRASKA,

Defendants.

VAN PELT Senior District Judge

Plaintiff has brought this action under 42 U.S.C.A. § § 1983, 1985 (1964), seeking injunctive and compensatory relief because of defendants' alleged denial of plaintiff's rights under the First, Fifth, Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution. Trial was had to the court. Briefs have been submitted and the case is now ready for decision.

At issue is the validity of the dismissal by the Board of Education of the City of Lincoln of plaintiff, who was serving as a tenured mathematics teacher at Millard Lefler Junior High School.

The general charges made against Johnson are incompetency and failure to give evidence of professional growth. The Board of Education failed to state

any specific findings of fact, thus making it impossible to determine if its decision was based on only one or on both of these charges. . . .

It should be stated at the outset that no claim of immorality is made against Johnson, nor is the content of his teaching or his educational training questioned. The issue is his manner of teaching, his handling of pupils, and his relationship with their parents. Johnson does not claim that he was discharged because of the exercise in the classroom of his constitutional right to freedom of speech or other similar constitutional claims which appear in some of the dismissal cases.

In deciding the issues submitted, it is necessary to examine the procedures which constitute due process and determine whether such procedures were afforded plaintiff. There are also questions relating to the impartiality of the School Board and one or more of its members; the refusal of the administration to disclose the names of parents or students who had made complaints as to plaintiff's actions; whether permitting Mrs. Virginia Taylor to testify violated the agreement and understanding of counsel, and whether permitting opinions to be expressed based upon the complaints which were not made known to plaintiff and not disclosed in the evidence, denied him his right of cross-examination and confrontation.

The comments which follow will constitute the court's findings of fact and conclusions of law.

Mr. Johnson holds a Master of Education degree in secondary education. He has completed 54 hours of study beyond the Master's degree. He entered the Lincoln School System in 1951 as a mathematics teacher at Lincoln Northeast High School. In 1960 he was transferred to Robin Mickle Junior High School. He stayed there until 1969 when he was transferred to Millard Lefler Junior High School where he was teaching when the events involved here arose.

Plaintiff has been active in various teacher organizations. At one time he served as president of the Lincoln Education Association, an association representing the teachers in the Lincoln Public Schools. He is now the president of the National Council of Urban Education Associations, a national group composed of about 150 local teacher associations. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education, and a member of a committee of thirty teachers from across the United States which acted as a consulting committee to the United States Office of Education.

Four witnesses expressed the opinion that Johnson was incompetent as a teacher while others questioned his effectiveness with certain students. Each in expressing their opinion relied in part upon complaints received from parents or pupils. As above indicated, his incompetency or ineffectiveness was not related to knowledge of the subject which he was teaching but to his classroom performance and to conferences, or lack of helpful conferences, with his pupils and with parent reaction. Suffice it to say, with three principals testifying that he was incompetent, even though some had previously given

Johnson satisfactory ratings, the court must conclude that the evidence was sufficient for the Board to find that Johnson was incompetent as a teacher. It is regrettable, as above indicated, that it did not recite findings of fact and state the specific grounds for dismissal. Even if factual grounds existed for a dismissal, Mr. Johnson, as a tenured teacher, was entitled to a "due process hearing." Hence we must turn to a consideration of the procedures before and at the hearings.

The claimed lack of professional growth did not relate to professional growth as defined in the Nebraska statutes.

Under Neb. Rev. Stat. 79-1260, a tenured teacher may have his teaching contract canceled if there is a "failure to give evidence of professional growth." "Professional growth" is again mentioned in section 79-1261, which reads:

> "Every six years permanent teachers in a fourth or fifth class school district shall give such evidence of professional growth as is approved by the school board in order to remain eligible to the benefits of sections 79-1256 to 79-1262. Educational travel, professional publications, work on educational committees, six semester hours of college work, or such other activity approved by the school board, may be accepted as evidence of professional growth."

In the past the Lincoln School Board has approved activities such as formal classwork, workshops, institutes, and college or adult education courses as acceptable evidence of compliance with the statutory standards. It is conceded by the defendants that the plaintiff has met the statutory requirements for professional growth as well as the standards set by the Board. However, it is the defendants' contention that the plaintiff did not meet Superintendent Prasch's definition of professional growth, a definition which was not known to the plaintiff until the hearing. Whether the Superintendent can substitute his own definition of professional growth for that of the statute must be decided. . . .

. . . . . .

As is hereafter noted in the discussion of due process, the charges against a teacher must be such that the teacher can respond as provided. . . . When the superintendent attempts to give his own definition of professional growth and substitute it for the statutory definition without the teachers of his system, and particularly in this case the teacher the Board votes to discharge, having knowledge of the superintendent's definition, it is clear that there would be no way for such teacher to respond. . . .

. . . . . .

It is evident from the Nebraska statute, Section 79-1261, above set forth, that the Board of Education has approval rights in determining what shall be evidence of professional growth.

The personnel handbook (Exhibit 6) provides for such evidence of professional growth as is "approved by the Board of Education." There is then out-

lined for six printed pages allowable professional growth activities and the evaluation committee is provided for. Thus it is clear that the Board has attempted to make a determination of what is evidence of professional growth and has so informed the teachers.

Superintendent Prasch's definition of professional growth is shown on page 74 of Exhibit 1-(A):

> Q - And would you explain to us how you are defining professional growth if you're not defining it in the seven page Procedures set out in this handbook?
>
> A - Yes; the seven pages, the Procedures set out in the handbook, are in terms of course requirements, professional involvement, travel, other kinds of things which are submitted by teachers as evidence that they have met professional growth criteria.
>
> My definition of professional growth includes the ability of a teacher to improve performance as the result of anything that they have done in that respect or in any other way so that over a period of time problems that are met in the classroom can be alleviated by that professional growth.
>
> For example, so that the teachers could learn to have greater sensitivity for youngsters over a period of time, or adjust their teaching practices so that kids could achieve and receive good grades.
>
> Q - So your use of professional growth, or failure to show professional growth in the charge you made against Mr. Johnson, is not that type of professional growth set forth in the handbook?
>
> A - I think that's essentially true, the things set forth in the handbook are items by which teachers can meet certain criteria for professional growth. Whether or not the growth takes place, I think, is another matter.

If the Board is to apply Superintendent Prasch's definition, it seems clear that it should be formally adopted by the Board and set forth in the handbook so that all teachers will know of it. To set forth one definition and then apply another certainly runs contrary to the definition of the Board's attorney of due process, namely "basic fairness."

Manifestly, Johnson had met not only the statutory professional growth requirements but those of the evaluation committee also. This court doubts if the superintendent under any circumstances could be permitted to substitute his own definition of professional growth for that of the statute. Certainly it cannot be done as the vehicle for the discharge of the teacher when the teacher has no knowledge of the superintendent's definition. If the Board's dismissal was based on lack of professional growth it is clear that due

process was not afforded and that the evidence would not justify dismissal on this ground. . . .

. . . . . .

The general import of the administration's witnesses' testimony was that plaintiff was incompetent as a teacher in that he intimidated pupils and did not develop the necessary "rapport" with a large percentage of his classes. There was also evidence of a failure rate in two of his classes which was high in relation to the number of failures given by other junior high school math teachers. The evidence, however, discloses that there were other teachers who had as high a failure rate and who were not discharged because of it, so the court concludes that the School Board gave little consideration to the failure rate. . . .

. . . . . .

In October, 1971, as shown by Exhibit 17, a conference was held with Mr. Johnson by his principal and by the math consultant, for two purposes, one of which was to inform him about numerous parent concerns and complaints. It was decided that the principal and math consultant would make frequent visitations to Mr. Johnson's room and make suggestions for possible improvement of student relationships. Only one such visitation report is in evidence, that of December 17, 1970, which indicates it is the principal's third visit to Johnson's classroom. In this report, the appraiser made some negative comments dealing with the class atmosphere and recommended that Johnson choose his statements more carefully. He pointed out some statements Johnson made to students as to which the court is in agreement that they were objectionable and achieved no purpose. This principal on February 2nd recommended to Dr. Sawin that Johnson "be reassigned to another building or another position." He mentions the requests of pupils and parents to change from Mr. Johnson's class to another teacher and that the requests have steadily increased "thus illuminating the growing dissatisfaction" and concludes with the statement: "Mr. Johnson is a very capable and intelligent person, but I do not believe he possesses the patience or empathy to work effectively with junior high students." The letter nowhere contains a recommendation that he be discharged or the statement that he was incompetent. . . .

. . . . . .

On or about March 16, 1971, the plaintiff received a letter from Mr. Prasch stating that the plaintiff's name was on the list of employees who had not been recommended for contract renewal. On March 25, 1971, plaintiff received a letter from Carroll R. Sawin, Assistant Superintendent for Personnel in the Lincoln Public School System, informing him that Sawin was recommending to the superintendent that his teaching contract be withheld pending an investigation of his teaching performance. The letter stated that the plaintiff was entitled to know the "specific charges" and that he could have a formal hearing if he desired. On March 27, 1971, plaintiff wrote to Sawin and requested the specific charges. On April 2, 1971, Sawin wrote the following letter to the plaintiff:

"This letter is to inform you that the Superintendent of Schools will recommend to the Board of Education that your contract be terminated for the reasons of incompetency and failure to give evidence of professional growth. In response to your request, the specific charges are as follows:

1. You create a classroom climate by word and action that inhibits learning. You intimidate students—you frighten them so they will not seek your help. There is little evidence of patience and empathy for students. There is a tendency on your part to ridicule or deteriorate students' confidence.

2. You have an excessive number of failures although the classes to which you have been assigned present no unusual instructional problems.

3. There now is, and for several years past has been, pronounced resistance on the part of students and parents to placement in your classes.

4. Several transfers in assigment and location have not alleviated the condition.

"Consideration and action by the Board of Education with respect to cancellation of your contract will take place on May 11, 1971, in the Board Room, PSAB, at 11:00 a.m., or as soon thereafter as the matter may be reached. Should you desire, you may request a formal hearing before the Board of Education in advance of the above specified date. In that event, we will confer with you relative to a suitable time and place."

Plaintiff's attorney replied to Sawin, saying that he believed the charges were not specific enough, in that they failed to include the following:

"1. The specific charge with respect to Mr. Johnson's alleged failure to give evidence of professional growth.

2. The classes and years in which Mr. Johnson's failures are claimed to be excessive.

3. The classes and years which there was pronounced resistence [sic] to placement of students in Mr. Johnson's classes.

4. The relationship between the resistence [sic] on the part of students and parents to placement in Mr. Johnson's classes and Mr. Johnson's alleged incompetency.

5. The transfers in assignment and location referred to.

6. The specific conduct of Mr. Johnson in the classroom which allegedly inhibits learning and intimidates students.

7. The nature of the evidence in support of the charge that 'There is little evidence of patience and empathy for students.'

8. The conduct on the part of Mr. Johnson with respect to the charge that 'There is a tendency. . .to ridicule or deteriorate students' confidence.'

"We also demand that we be furnished the name and address of each person making complaints with respect to Mr. Johnson and resisting the placement in Mr. Johnson's classes. We also demand copies of any documents which you may have in your file not already furnished to us which in any way relates to the charges against Mr. Johnson or which may have formed the basis for your action against Mr. Johnson."

. . . . . .

The court concludes that Mr. Johnson's contract was not terminated in the manner required by the rules of the administration and the Board, and that he was denied due process during and prior to the hearing. It follows that the Board action should be vacated and Mr. Johnson restored to his status as a tenured teacher. It does not follow that he must be returned to Millard Lefler Junior High School or even to a position as a mathematics teacher. It also does not follow that in his assignment he should be punished by the administration or by the Board. It is to be hoped that a place can be found for him in the system and that he will devote more time to teaching and conference improvement and less to outside activities.

IT IS ORDERED BY THE COURT that the Board's action be vacated and plaintiff Robert L. Johnson restored to his status as a tenured teacher.
Dated: November 5, 1971.

BY THE COURT:
Van Pelt

UNITED STATES SENIOR DISTRICT JUDGE

FUNDING PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Several funding problems are discussed:

1. Inadequacy of property tax to support schools.
2. Lack of funds available for school-based undergraduate education of teachers.
3. Failure of the U.S. Office of Education to write and enforce guidelines for funding programs that result in educational reform.
4. Need to rechannel money with the help of state legislatures.

The Demetrio P. Rodriquez vs. San Antonio Independent School District court decision, which has become popularly known as the "Edgewood Decision," is of historic importance in that it rules that the current property tax method of financing public education in Texas is unconstitutional because it discriminates on the basis of wealth and thus denies equal protection demanded under the Fourteenth Amendment. The significance of this case is shown by the fact that more than 30 states have joined the state of Texas in filing an *amici curiae* brief with the Supreme Court in appealing this decision.

Pino suggests some mechanisms that would make possible developmental funding of institutions of higher education by the federal government. These suggestions would also have applicability for the funding of school-based teacher training centers.

If schools are to play a significant role in the undergraduate training of teachers, they will need money to do it. This money could come from a) an enlarged federal contribution based on an expansion of the federal funding role; b) an expanded state role based on the development of new procedures in state legislatures for funding teacher education through the schools; c) new funding formats used by the U.S. Office of Education's UPEP and Renewal programs.

"I, for one, would be for proposing that we abandon the property tax for the funding of education and fund wars with it and use income tax to fund education. It might be a beautiful way to prevent wars. The Army might be trying to take a hill somewhere, and you would have to send them notice to withdraw and go home, because they didn't pass the bond issue. The property tax will not support America's schools."

—Barbara Sizemore, see below.

MS. SIZEMORE:

If we are to work at school-based undergraduate training, we must work in properly supported schools. Otherwise, the money will be directed for bread and butter supplies. Property taxes are inadequate and obsolete, but nobody wants to do anything about it.

I, for one, would be for proposing that we abandon the property tax for the funding of education and fund wars with it and use income tax to fund education. It might be a beautiful way to prevent wars. The Army might be trying to take a hill somewhere, and you would have to send them notice to withdraw and go home, because they didn't pass the bond issue. The property tax will not support America's schools.

MR. SALMON:

I'm in complete agreement with you there. I think that the problems of America are so substantial in every area that we may find that even a progressive income tax might run into a problem.

MS. SIZEMORE:

The public does not understand how Lockheed is subsidized. The intricate workings of the capitalistic mechanisms are hidden from the people. If you discuss capitalism it's taboo. The people of America do not discover that the oil millionaires are subsidized by Congress. They're on welfare; so is Lockheed. So are the expressways on welfare. Once you reveal the basic concepts that order the priorities of the people who are oppressed, they may have second considerations as to whether they wish to support the schools in a new way.

MR. SALMON:

School-based undergraduate education for teachers could come to be like in-service graduate education. I've had a strong thrust for in-service education, but the only funds that we had were ADP funds or some Title I funds. If community money is used to train these teachers, what will happen to them is they will be thrown into a classroom and have a principal down there that's harassed and busy and doesn't care. The schools don't have the horses to do good school-based education now. I think we *could* do it. But we are emasculated at the moment; at least most of the school systems I know about are emasculated. They don't have the funds to do in-service training, let alone good undergraduate training.

MR. CARDENAS:

I'm not sure that the school needs new horses for the training of teachers. I've found out what an ideal teacher training program is like by accident. In October I was funded for a fairly extensive Early Childhood program—forty teachers. I couldn't find anybody; I talked to the state of Texas, and they said, "Just hire warm bodies now and we will give a permit to everybody." I hired forty people, most of them fairly young. None of them had a teacher's certificate. None of them had formal teaching experience. I didn't know how to train them, because I didn't know anything about Early Childhood education, and so I said, "You decide what you want. I have got eighty-five thousand bucks for staff training, and just tell me what you want to learn and so forth, and we will get the people that know something and we will put you in contact with people." They developed their own program. Those are the forty best teachers that we have in my schools.

MR. SALMON:

If you don't have eighty-five thousand bucks, how do you do it?

MR. CARDENAS:

We would have begged, borrowed and—the unique thing is that these forty teachers are my horses now. They are training my principals, my supervisors, my counselors. I put them in an

institute this summer again and brought in the principals and the counselors and the supervisors and the certified teachers and they are training my other teachers.

MR. SALMON:

Your definition of "horses" and mine were different. You were talking about people. I was talking about dollars. When I said I didn't have the horses, I was saying that schools don't have the dollars. A reallocation is realistic. We need to talk about that so that the schools can do the job that you envision with proper support.

MR. FOSTER:

We can say to the federal government, "Stop giving any money to school districts or universities which want the wrong things; just stop it." There is no more reason to start giving that Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) money to southern places to pay off the people. I just saw the new regulations, and they are just as bad as the old in my judgment.

MR. CARDENAS:

I've been saying this in other programs; they wouldn't even do it in the Bureau of Educational Personnel Development. They specify the type of training that they want to give teaching candidates to prepare for proficiency tests. Well, you can't buy this type of training. Then they say, "Well, if the University of Texas doesn't give this type of training, don't send the teacher candidates there, and don't pay them the tuition money." But the University of Texas has an endowment because of its oil lands. I am supposed to say to the University of Texas, "If you don't change your teacher training program for some 5,000 students, you are not going to get $21,000 worth of tuition money," see? But at the same time, the Bureau of Education Personnel Development in Washington is funding summer institutes for the University of Texas all over the damn place, and the U.S. Office of Education is giving them Higher Education Facilities Act monies, special grants, for example, helping them build dormitories and all kinds of things. My argument is this: if the University of Texas is not interested in preparing teachers for Mexican-Americans or Chicano kids or Black kids, then Washington should say, "Well, it's

the University of Texas' prerogative, but don't ask for a single God damned cent from Washington because you are not going to get it."

MR. SALMON:

That's real. I have lived in Washington now for about a month; I have been over on the hill. The regulations that are drawn are political regulations. You know that.

MR. OLSON:

If federal funding is going to do any good, we have got to establish some constraints as to whom we fund and some guidelines that require integrity of the institution and institutionalization of change.

MR. CARDENAS:

The paradox in the U.S. Office of Education, in the way they develop guidelines and promote legislations, is that they say that teachers have to understand that there are differences between kids. When they formulate programs they sure as hell don't understand that there are differences among school districts, among universities, etc. I have real fears regarding a school-based teacher training program, be it pre-service or in-service. In 98 per cent of the school districts in this country, you would have no better programs than you would have in 98 per cent of the universities. Let's put it this way, the guidelines for programs or the legislation of programs ought to include the performance criteria expected. Then either universities or school districts could participate in the development and implementation of the training program. I'm sour on universities, but, hell, there are a lot of school districts that I am also pretty sour on.

MR. FOSTER:

Could we somehow restrict funding to a viable alternative within the institution? Rather than putting money into the whole institution and thus forcing it to prove its reliability, you restrict funds to a smaller power base within the institution.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

How do you deal with the argument that that's a nice way to allow the mainstream part of the university to continue business

as usual? At Adams we have an urban teacher education program that is nominally wired into Oregon State. We had hoped that this alternative teacher education program would have some impact on the university's main teacher education programs. After two years of operation and many site visits, a lot of people are saying that the program represents a pretty good model. But we haven't budged their mainstream teacher preparation programs one iota. The alternative has not budged the system. I would like to see built-in some notion about how you are going to use the alternative program for leverage on the main system.

MR. FOSTER:

If the mainstream knew it wasn't going to get any more money, that's power. If we were to say to the dean, we will fund the alternative, and will continue to; unless you can use that alternative, move the base, we aren't going to open up any more for you; you have got your limitations. I think you have to broker that kind of power into the situation.

MR. SALMON:

Or if the kids who went through the mainstream institution didn't get jobs, that would be the best power you could possibly get.

MR. FOSTER:

The institutions don't care very much what happens to the kids.

MR. SALMON:

And honest to God, not too many people are concerned about the mainstream education departments or concerned enough to cut their money off.

MR. FOSTER:

The dean cares, because that's his survival. If he gets dried up, he's through.

MR. SALMON:

But who is going to deny him?

MR. OLSON:

How much money would it take American schools to do a decent job of undergraduate professional education for teachers?

MR. CARDENAS:

Can we start on the premise that it's not going to cost any more than it's costing right now to turn out a dysfunctional teacher. If the money presently being spent in higher education were rechanneled, one might produce a better teacher.

MR. SPILLANE:

That makes political sense as well.

MR. OLSON:

In 1968, undergraduate teacher training was costing $2,000 a year for each undergraduate in the state university.

MR. CARDENAS:

In medical school it was costing $5-10,000.

MR. OLSON:

Yes.

MR. CARDENAS:

For somewhere between $2,000 and $10,000, I could train a teacher.

MR. OLSON:

When you are talking then about the rechanneling of money does that mean some kind of program of education of state legislators?

MR. CARDENAS:

You are talking about a school-sponsored training program; I'm talking about rechanneling to the school-centered program.

MR. OLSON:

That would involve a program of educating state legislators.

MR. FOSTER:

What would happen if the federal government were to say it had a series of grants that it was going to make to selected school districts, the proviso being that they would put up half the money and the rest of it had to come from the state legisla-

ture as a diversion from teacher education monies given to the university. If you couldn't get the state legislature to move, the federal government would just say, "There is no money."

MR. OLSON:

There would be federal money that would go with the school system and state legislature money. Is that what you are saying?

MR. FOSTER:

That's right. We would have to exercise our power in the legislature to be able to say to them what we're saying right in this room.

MS. SIZEMORE:

In Illinois, nothing would happen.

MR. FOSTER:

If all we get is federal money and we don't convert any state money for this particular purpose, then we're going to go out of existence the minute we lose the federal funds.

MR. OLSON:

The National Science Foundation, with its science development grants, lined up the legislators first. In the early 1960's NSF developed the notion, among many American businessmen and in the public sector generally, that if you had a good science research center you would get industry. Boston and a few places proved it. Congress was sold on the notion of the "Science Development Grant" in the post-Sputnik era. And legislatures bought the notion of science as a key to business expansion.

Can we get out of this Study Commission some kind of description of what might be a sensible way of funding Office of Education programs so they produce a permanent institutional change? To produce such change, one has got to get major school system money, money from state legislatures and money from the federal government. Could one appeal to the idealism and self-interest of legislative leaders so that they would see improvement in the education of teachers and children as having at least as much pay-off as improving science departments.

MR. SALMON:

I'm attracted to the idea that you could show the California legislature, for instance, that they could cut their expenses in

half in training some teachers. I think that would be an attractive idea. And I think then if you proved that these teachers were in greater demand by the administrators and the boards of education so that the word got back, "that's the way to train them," I think, even if the federal government cut funds off, then you would continue to get money for school-based training. It comes back again to the market idea. You've got to prove that teachers so educated are something more, something different, that they are more attractive.

MR. FOSTER:

Assume that the U.S. Office were to say to Berkeley School District, "We'll give you a grant. What are the conditions that you would like placed on the grant?" I would say, "Give me a letter which says I have a million or two million dollars conditional on (a) my getting the state superintendent to agree that he will support it, (b) the legislature's agreement that half of the funds will go to the state college or university we select and half will come to us, and (c) the college's agreeing to make some participants available and granting the degree when we get through." It will be that kind of collaboration that will give us the clout. That would be where I would like to start from. I could broker something walking in with a letter showing a million dollars of support.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

If we would set up centers where you would use a network of schools in an area and where the universities also have a piece of the action, then, I think, maybe you can begin to build some leverage. The notion of withdrawing all teacher education money from the university I don't think is politically viable.

MR. CARDENAS:

The state legislators have been real good when they have participated in this type of thing in securing state monies and then leaving a certain per cent that has to come from matching local funds. And when this happens, as far as I'm concerned, I'm wiped out automatically. The school districts that have funds for doing something in the first place are the only ones that participate.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
SAN ANTONIO DIVISION

DEMETRIO P. RODRIQUEZ, et al	X	
	X	
v.	X	CIVIL ACTION NO. 68-175-SA
	X	
SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT, et al	X X	

Before GOLDBERG, Circuit Judge; SPEARS, Chief District Judge; and ROBERTS, District Judge.

PER CURIAM:

Pursuant to Rule 23, Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, plaintiffs bring this action on behalf of Mexican American school children and their parents who live in the Edgewood Independent School District, and on behalf of all other children throughout Texas who live in school districts with low property valuations. Jurisdiction of this matter is proper under 2S U.S.C. § § 1331, 1343. This Court finds merit In plaintiffs' claim that the current method of state financing for public elementary and secondary education deprives their class of equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.[1]

Edgewood and six other school districts lie wholly or partly within the city of San Antonio, Texas. Five additional districts are located within rural Bexar County. All of these districts and their counterparts throughout the State are dependent upon federal, state, and local sources for financing.

Since the federal government contributes only about ten percent of the overall public school expenditures, most revenue is derived from local sources and from two state programs—the Available School Fund and the Minimum Foundation Program. In accordance with the Texas Constitution, the $296 million in the Available School Fund for the 1970-1971 school year was allocated on a per capita basis determined by the average daily attendance within a district for the prior school year.

Costing in excess of one billion dollars for the 1970-1971 school year, the Minimum Foundation Program provides grants for the costs of salaries, school maintenance and transportation. Eighty percent of the cost of this program is

[1] See Serrano v. Priest, 5 Cal. 3d. 584, 487 P. 2d 1241 (1971); and Van Dusartz v. Hatfield, 334 F. Supp. 870 (D. Minn. 1971). Serrano convincingly analyzes discussions regarding the suspect nature of classifications based on wealth, and Van Dusartz points out that in this type case "the variations in wealth are state created. This is not the simple instance in which the poor man is injured by his lack of funds. Here the poverty is that of a governmental unit that the state itself has defined and commissioned."

financed from general State revenue with the remainder apportioned to the school districts in "the Local Fund Assignment." TEX. EDUC. CODE ANN. arts. 16. 71-16. 73 (1969). Although generally measuring the variations in taxpaying ability, the Economic Index employed by the State to determine each district's share of "the Local Fund Assignment" (TEX. EDUC. CODE ANN. arts 16. 74-16. 78) has come under increasing criticism.

To provide their share of the Minimum Foundation Program, to satisfy bonded indebtedness for capital expenditures, and to finance all expenditures above the state minimum, local school districts are empowered within statutory or constitutional limits to levy and collect ad valorem property taxes TEX. CONST. art 7, § § 3, 3a; TEX. EDUC. CODE ANN. art. 20.01, et seq. Similarly additional tax levies must be approved by a majority of the property-tax-paying voters within the individual district, these statutory and constitutional provisions require as a practical matter that all tax revenues be expended solely within the district in which they are collected.

Within this ad valorem taxation system lies the defect which plaintiffs challenge. This system assumes that the value of property within the various districts will be sufficiently equal to sustain comparable expenditures from one district to another. It makes education a function of the local property tax base. The adverse effects of this erroneous assumption have been vividly demonstrated at trial through the testimony and exhibits adduced by plaintiffs. In this connection, a survey of 110 school districts[2] throughout Texas demonstrated that while the ten districts with a market value of taxable property per pupil above $100,000 enjoyed an equalized tax rate per $100 of only thirty-one cents, the poorest four districts, with less than $10,000 in property per pupil, were burdened with a rate of seventy cents. Nevertheless, the low rate of the rich districts yielded only $60 per pupil. As might be expected, those districts most rich in property also have the highest median family income and the lowest percentage of minority pupils, while the poor property districts are poor in income and predominantly minority in composition.[3]

Data for 1967-1968 show that the seven San Antonio school districts follow the statewide pattern. Market value of property per student varied from a low of $5,429 in Edgewood, to a high of $45,095 in Alamo Heights. Accordingly, taxes as a per cent of the property's market value were the highest in Edgewood and the lowest in Alamo Heights. Despite its high rate Edgewood produced a meager twenty-one dollars per pupil from local ad valor taxes, while the lower rate of Alamo Heights provided $307 per pupil.

Nor does State financial assistance serve to equalize these great disparities. Funds provided from the combined local-state system of financing in 1967-1968

[2] The total number of districts in the state is approximately 1200.

[3] Plaintiffs' Exhibit VIII shows 1960 median family income of $5,900 in the top ten districts and $3,325 in the bottom four. The rich districts had eight per cent minority pupils while the poor districts were seventy-nine per cent minority.

ranged from $231 per pupil in Edgewood to $543 per pupil in Alamo Heights. There was expert testimony to the effect that the current system tends to subsidize the rich at the expense of the poor, rather than the other way around. Any mild equalizing effects that state aid may have do not benefit the poorest districts.

For poor school districts educational financing in Texas is, thus, a tax more, spend less system. The constitutional and statutory framework employed by the State in providing education draws distinction between groups of citizens depending upon the wealth of the district in which they live. Defendants urge this Court to find that there is a reasonable or rational relationship between these distinctions or classifications and a legitimate state purpose. This rational basis text is normally applied by the courts in reviewing state commercial or economic regulation. *See, e.g., McGowan v. Maryland*, 366 U.S. 420 (1961); *Williamson v. Lee Optical of Oklahoma*, 348 U.S. 483 (1955). More than mere rationality is required, however, to maintain a state classification which affects a "fundamental interest," or which is based upon wealth. Here both factors are involved.

These two characteristics of state classification, in the financing of public education, were recognized in *Hargrave v. McKinney*, 413 F. 2d 320 324 (5th Cir. 1969), *on remand, Hargrave v. Kirk*, 313 F. Supp. 944 (M.D. Fla. 1970), vacated on other grounds sub nom., *Askew v. Hargrave*, 401 U.S. 476 (1971). Among the authorities relied upon to support the *Hargrave* conclusion "that lines drawn on wealth are suspect" is *Harper v. Virginia Bd. of Elections*, 383 U.S. 663, 668 (1965).[4] In striking down a poll tax requirement because of the possible effect upon indigent voting, the Supreme Court concluded that "(l)ines drawn on the basis of wealth or property, like those of race. . .are traditionally disfavored. . . . To introduce wealth or payment of a fee as a measure of a voter's qualifications is to introduce a capricious or irrelevant factor." Likewise *McDonald v. Bd. of Elections Comm'rs of Chicago*, 394 U.S. 802, 807 (1969), noted that "a careful examination on our part is especially warranted where lines are drawn on the basis of wealth. . . which would independently render a classification highly suspect and thereby demand a more exacting judicial scrutiny."

Further justification for the very demanding test which this Court applies to defendants' classification is the very great significance of education to the individual. The crucial nature of education for the citizenry lies at the heart of almost twenty years of school desegregation litigation. The oft repeated declaration of *Brown v Bd. of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, 493 (1954), continues to ring true:

> Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the

[4] In addition, the court relied upon Douglas v. California, 372 U.S. 353 (1963), and Griffin v. Illinois, 351 U.S. 12 (1956), which are decisions invalidating state laws that discriminated against criminal defendants because of their poverty.

> great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

Because of the grave significance of education both to the individual and to our society, the defendants must demonstrate a compelling state interest that is promoted by the current classifications created under the financing scheme.

Defendants insist that the Court is bound by the opinions in *McInnis v. Shapiro*, 293, F. Supp. 327 (N.D. Ill. 1968), aff'd mem. sub nom., 394 U.S. 322 (1969); and *Burrus v. Wilkerson*, 310 F. Supp. 572 (W.D. Va. 1969), aff'd mem. sub nom, 397 U.S. 44 (1970). However, we disagree.

The development of judicially manageable standards is imperative when reviewing the complexities of a state educational financing scheme. Plaintiffs in *McInnis* sought to require that educational expenditures in Illinois be made solely on the basis of the "pupils' educational needs." Defining and applying the nebulous concept "educational needs" would have involved the court in the type of endless research and evaluation for which the judiciary is ill-suited.[5] Accordingly, the court refused the claim that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment demands such [an] unworkable standard. The subsequent affirmance, without opinion, by the Supreme Court would not, in our opinion, bar consideration of plaintiffs' claim that lines in Texas have been drawn on the basis of wealth. The same situation prevails with respect to *Burrus* where the Court, in referring to the "varying needs" of the students, found the circumstances "scarcely distinguishable" from *McInnis*.

In the instant case plaintiffs have not advocated that educational expenditures be equal for each child. Rather, they have recommended the application of the principle of "fiscal neutrality." Briefly summarized, this standard requires that the quality of public education may not be a function of wealth, other than the wealth of the state as a whole. Unlike the measure offered in *McInnis*, this proposal does not involve the Court in the intricacies of affirmatively requiring that expenditures be made in a certain manner or amount. On the contrary, the state may adopt the financial scheme desired so long as the variations in wealth among the governmentally chosen units do not affect spending for the education of any child.

[5] Indeed, it is difficult to see how the defendants reach a contrary conclusion since even McInnis plaintiffs did not request precisely equal expenditures per child.

Considered against this principle of "fiscal neutrality," defendants' arguments for the present system are rendered insubstantial. Not only are defendants unable to demonstrate compelling state interests for their classifications based upon wealth, they fail even to establish a reasonable basis for these classifications. They urge the advantages of the present system in granting decision-making power to individual districts, and in permitting local parents to determine how much they desire to spend on their children's schooling. However, they lose sight of the fact that the state has, in truth and in fact, limited the choice of financing by guaranteeing that "some districts will spend low (with high taxes) while others will spend high (with low taxes)."[6] Hence, the present system does not serve to promote one of the very interests which defendants assert.

Indicative of the character of defendants' other arguments is the statement that plaintiffs are calling for "socialized education." Education like the postal service has been socialized, or publicly financed and operated, almost from its origin. The type of socialized education, not the question of its existence, is the only matter currently in dispute. One final contention of the defendants however calls for further analysis. In essence, they argue that the state may discriminate as it desires so long as federal financing equalizes the differences. Initially, the Court notes that plaintiffs have successfully controverted the contention that federal funds do in fact compensate for state discrimination.[7] More importantly, defendants have not adequately explained why the acts of other governmental units should excuse them from the discriminatory consequences of state law. *Hobson v. Hansen, supra,* 269 F. Supp at 496, countered defendants' view by finding that the federal aid to education statutes

> . . .are manifestly intended to provide extraordinary services at the slum schools, not merely to compensate for inequalities produced by local school boards in favor of their middle-income schools. Thus, they cannot be regarded as curing any inequalities for which the Board is otherwise responsible.

Since they were designed primarily to meet special needs in disadvantaged schools, these funds cannot be employed as a substitute for state aid without violating the Congressional will. Further support for this view is offered by a series of decisions prohibiting deductions from state aid for districts receiving

[6] As the Court said in Van Dusartz v. Hatfield, supra note 1: "By its own acts, the State has indicated that it is not primarily interested in local choice in school matters. In fact, rather than reposing in each school district the economic power to fix its own level or per pupil expenditure, the State has so arranged the structure as to guarantee that some districts will spend low (with high taxes) while others will spend high (with low taxes). To promote such an erratic dispersal of privilege and burden on a theory of local control of spending would be quite impossible."

[7] Plaintiffs' Exhibit 8, Table X, indicates that while Edgewood receives the highest federal revenues per pupil of any district in San Antonio, $108, and Alamo Heights, the lowest, $36, the former still has the lowest combined local-state-federal revenues per pupil, $356, and the latter the highest, $594.

"impacted areas" aid.[8] Performance of its constitutional obligations must be judged by the state's own behavior, not by the actions of the federal government.

While defendants are correct in their suggestion that this Court cannot act as a "super-legislature," the judiciary can always determine that an act of the legislature is violative of the Constitution. Having determined that the current system of financing public education in Texas discriminates on the basis of wealth by permitting citizens of affluent districts to provide a higher quality education for their children, while paying lower taxes, this Court concludes, as a matter of law, that the plaintiffs have been denied equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution by the operation of Article 7, § 3 of the Texas Constitution and the sections of the Education Code relating to the financing of education, including the Minimum Foundation Program.

Now it is incumbent upon the defendants and the Texas Legislature to determine what new form of financing should be utilized to support public education.[9] The selection may be made from a wide variety of financing plans so long as the program adopted does not make the quality of public education a function of wealth other than the wealth of the state as a whole.

Accordingly, IT IS ORDERED that:

(1) The defendants and each of them be preliminarily and permanently restrained and enjoined from giving any force and effect to said Article 7, § 3 of the Texas Constitution, and the sections of the Texas Education Code relating to the financing of education, including the Minimum Foundation School Program Act (Ch. 16), and that defendants, the Commissioner of Education and the members of the State Board of Education, and each of them, be ordered to reallocate the funds available for financial support of the school system, including, without limitation, funds derived from taxation of real property by school districts, and to otherwise restructure the financial system in such a manner as not to violate the equal protection provisions of both the United States and Texas Constitutions;

(2) The mandate in this case shall be stayed, and this Court shall retain jurisdiction in this action for a period of two years in order to afford the

[8] These cases have held that the statute clearly provides that the aid is intended as special assistance to local educational agencies, and that to permit a reduction in state aid would violate the Congressional intent.

[9] On October 15, 1969 this Court indicated its awareness of the fact that the Legislature of Texas, on its own initiative, had authorized the appointment of a committee to study the public school system of Texas and to recommend "a specific formula or formulae to establish a fair and equitable basis for the division of the financial responsibility between the State and the various school districts of Texas". It was then felt that ample time remained for the committee to "explore all facets and all possibilities in relation to the problem area," in order for appropriate legislation to be enacted not later than the adjournment of the 62nd Legislature and since the legislature appeared ready to grapple with the problems involved, the trial of this case was held in abeyance pending further developments. Unfortunately, however, no action was taken during the 62nd Session which has adjourned. Hopefully, the Governor will see fit to submit this matter to one or more special sessions so that members of the legislature can give these complex and complicated problems their undivided attention.

defendants and the Legislature an opportunity to take all steps reasonably feasible to make the school system comply with the applicable law; and without limiting the generality of the foregoing, to reallocate the school funds, and to otherwise restructure the taxing and financing system so that the educational opportunities afforded the children attending Edgewood Independent School District, and the other children of the State of Texas, are not made a function of wealth, other than the wealth of the State as a whole, as required by the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

(3) Our holding that the plaintiffs have been denied equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution by the operation of Article 7, 3 of the Texas Constitution, and the sections of the Texas Education Code relating to the financing of education, including the Minimum Foundation Program, shall have prospective application only, and shall not become effective until after the expiration of two years from December 23, 1971. This order shall in no way affect the validity, incontestibility, obligation to pay, source of payment or enforceability of any presently outstanding bond, note or other security issued, or contractual obligation incurred by a school district in Texas for public school purposes, nor the validity or enforceability of any tax or other source of payment of any such bond, note, security or obligation; nor shall this judgment in any way affect the validity, incontestibility, obligation of payment, source of payment or enforceability of any bond, note or other security to be issued and delivered, or contractual obligation incurred by Texas school districts, for authorized purposes, during the period of two years from December 23, 1971, nor shall the validity or enforceability of any tax or other source of payment for any such bond, note or other security issued and delivered, or any contractual obligation incurred during such two year period be affected hereby; it being the intention of this Court that this judgment should be construed in such a way as to permit an orderly transition during said two year period from an unconstitutional to a constitutional system of school financing.

(4) The Court retains jurisdiction of this action to take such further steps as may be necessary to implement both the purpose and spirit of this order, in the event the Legislature fails to act within the time stated, but, as we understand the law, this constitutes no impediment with respect to the finality of this judgment for the purpose of appeal, and none is intended. See Swann v. Adams, 385 U.S. 440, 87 S. Ct. 569, 17 L. Ed. 2d 501 (1967); 263 F. Supp. 225 (S. D. Fla. 1967); Reynolds v. Sims, 377 U.S. 533, 84 S. Ct. 1362, 12 L. Ed. 2d 506 (1964); Gunn v. University Committee to End War in Viet Nam, 399 U.S. 383, 90 S. Ct. 2013, 26 L. Ed. 2d 684 (1970); and Klahr v. Goddard, 254 F. Supp. 997 (D. Ariz. 1966). Needless to say, we hope that no further action by this Court will be necessary.

As clarified January 26, 1972.

Developmental Funding

Lewis N. Pino[1]

If the times are as serious as I believe they are, a case can be made that the short-term training grants and contracts which the United States Office of Education likes so much may be diverting the attention of many faculties around the country from dealing with the real issues of the day. One can be pretty content if the Teacher Corps project on campus is going smoothly, even though at the same time and largely in the same halls an antiquated, grossly imperfect—and, yes, even racist—pre-service program is pouring out teachers who must be "retrained" within a few years. Even the use of the word "retraining" illustrates insensitivity to the real problems.

Consider the various forms of funding available in recent years through USOE for the upgrading of in-service teachers. Initially, under National Defense Education Act, a series of institutes were funded under tight contractual conditions. The institute formats were designed largely by the Office of Education staff with not only tight fiscal control but control of content and approach. There was, in fact, no room for confusion or creativity since the Office of Education ran the program. People were purchased "to train and to be trained."

Significantly, the impact on the institutions of higher education was minimal or negative. I know of several cases where faculty people who opted to run these institutes for several years were informed by their departments that this activity was only marginally important in making determinations of promotion and tenure. The institutes were offered and funded so as to almost ensure that they did not become part of the fabric of the host institution.

Similar programs at the National Science Foundation, which date back to the early fifties, while purchasing in-service training (and presumably developmental changes) under grants to colleges and universities, have produced only minimal changes in the way pre-service teachers are trained. Lots of money has gone into activities of this sort in an effort to improve pre-college teaching in this country. A good many teachers have been upgraded, but a significant number of them have moved from positions as well-qualified high school teachers to those of mediocre community college teachers.

If one looks at the impact of those programs on teacher education at the pre-service level—and NSF has looked hard at this—one finds that significant changes have not occurred and were not likely to occur, for a variety of reasons. The primary problem is simple: if you fund a program of this sort on a short-term basis and you concentrate primarily on the training of in-service teachers, you don't really have a right to expect very much change in the way pre-service programs are operated. No major change will be made unless the funding agencies insist that the current condition of the pre-service program at the institution seeking funds will be a prime factor in the decision to support or

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not support an in-service project. I would opt for the more direct approach with USOE offering real developmental funding.

What seems to be needed is an approach which encourages colleges, universities and school systems to seek realistic, long-term solutions to their common problems. The role of the federal government should be that of facilitator and supplier of seed money rather than that of stern contract monitor with stop-watch and balance sheet in hand. In the ideal situation, after careful review of the firm plans of a university or college and its area school systems, USOE makes an award which provides developmental funding for a period of three to five years, in the clear expectation that progress will be made toward defined goals and that the funds required for continued operation of the program would be available from stable, largely local, sources upon expiration of the grant.

An Office of Education (or a Foundation or Institute) developmental program might operate as follows: Normally, no planning grants would be made, in the expectation that local funding, if needed, would be available for planning; however, once a university or college and the school districts in its normal radius of concern (perhaps a 30-mile radius from the campus in the East, 50 miles or more in the Rocky Mountain area, and so on) have made firm and sound plans for a coordinated improvement of, say, pre-service teacher education, the U.S. Office of Education would be asked to consider developmental funding, with such funding normally not to exceed, perhaps, $800,000 over a three-year period. What would be submitted by the school and college group would not be a proposal in the usual sense but rather a detailed performance agreement delineating the anticipated outcomes in operational terms, the developmental steps to be taken during the first years of the program, the expected developmental costs, and a plan for continued funding at the end of the period of USOE support.

This sort of developmental approach has great appeal to many in the federal agencies. In addition to some obvious advantages, it allows, over time, very good geographical distribution of funds and it resolves, by avoiding it, the difficult problem of comparing new proposals with renewal requests. Further, by encouraging a variety of groups to propose solutions to major problems, one has the opportunity to test one approach against another and to disseminate the results widely.

Such a program is not common in the U.S. Office of Education, although it does exist. However, it is in use in other parts of HEW, as well as other agencies, including NSF and the Endowment for the Humanities. The pattern commonly is for awards to be made on a non-renewable basis, with no indirect costs provided. Indirect costs are however recognized as a part of institutional contribution to the operation of the program during the period of grant and in the post-grant time.

Developmental proposals of this kind and of this magnitude may be reviewed by panels assembled in some central city. However, if the volume of proposals is not too great, evaluation may be based on something like a North

Central visiting team assessment. The team, which may consist of two consultants who are expert in their fields and one staff member from USOE, would spend perhaps two or three days on site, conferring with all those who are parties to the proposal, including the faculty and administration of the college or university and the staff of cooperating schools. This sort of evaluation can be justified not only in terms of the number of dollars to be granted but also in terms of the non-renewable nature of the grants. In many instances, a careful, on-site study will result in some rather major improvements to the proposal, while at the same time serving to keep the USOE staff much more fully informed on the strengths and the concerns of the profession.

The approach outlined above is most powerful when the choice of elements to be improved is left to the proposers. The ends sought by the funding agency must be stated in the most general terms, since no group—even in Washington—is capable of anticipating either the set of problems to be selected or the approaches which will be proposed. The important elements to be sought are careful local planning for improvement prior to a grant, informed handling of the program during the grant period, and fullest cooperation between the local concerned parties in operation, administration, and funding during the post-grant years. Let me illustrate the approach which might be taken by a fairly typical array consisting of a college and its co-operating schools.

An agreement might be reached that the most pressing need is an adequate supply of well qualified new recruits moving into the schools from the colleges and universities. These new teachers need not only appropriate undergraduate and graduate preparation of high quality but emotional and intellectual support during the first three to five years of classroom work. Improved retention rates for new teachers could do much to raise the caliber of the profession, especially if the evidence supports our suspicions that the most alert new teachers are among the most likely to desert.

Let us make certain assumptions. First of all, most university-based in-service training programs for new classroom teachers have drawn heavily on national pools of prospective registrants; as a consequence, the university operating such a program does not have to deal, in any primary sense, with the deficiencies of its own graduates. One plank of our proposal might stipulate that the college or university will assume responsibility for the early post-graduate education of those of its own baccalaureates who are selected for teaching posts in the cooperating schools. In this way, a feedback loop is to be established, which will make very clear to concerned faculty the strengths and weaknesses of its own graduates certified to teach at the elementary and secondary level. Voila! A system for self-renewal of a pre-service teacher education program.

Suppose we posit further that the intensive practice teaching unit now commonly required in elementary and secondary ed programs at the undergraduate level can be moved into the immediate post-baccalaureate period, with this training function becoming the joint responsibility of the college and the school systems. The teacher could be employed during his or her first year on an

emergency or probationary certificate, with full certification not coming until satisfactory classroom performance has been demonstrated.

Immediately a couple of things happen. A block of time is created in the undergraduate program which provides a major opportunity to restructure the entire undergraduate program for the prospective teacher. I am sure that the schools and the State Departments of Education could work out any problems in certification created by this move.

By concentrating on the new entrants into the field, one need not necessarily cut back on or stop programs for experienced teachers. However, this approach does recognize the fact that faculty turn-over rates at the pre-college level normally are in the range of ten to twenty per cent per year, so that fairly substantial changes can be expected in the composition of typical pre-college faculty groups over a span of, say, five to ten years. Improving the preparation and retention of new entrants thus can have a substantial impact in a relatively short time.

There are obviously many implications of this sort of approach. I won't try to uncover them all, but one should be emphasized. If the present practice teaching approach is replaced by an internship year immediately following graduation, one automatically gains an advantage of being able to recruit into teaching those students who made decisions late in their undergraduate careers to consider elementary and secondary teaching—specifically, one could at this time find some students who have completed, say, full undergraduate majors in the sciences and engineering who would be eminently well qualified by virtue of preparation and, hopefully, personality to instruct pre-college students. Obviously, in nearly all cases, these students have not had time to earn many professional credits toward certification.

Secondly, by giving recent college graduates at least a full year of internship, with all of the emotional and intellectual support that they will certainly need, one should be able to increase the rate of retention and the confidence with which one can assess the performance of these new recruits. Permanent certification, based upon hard-headed appraisal of performance, should assist greatly in raising the level of the teaching profession.

I see no reason why three-year non-renewable awards of this kind, *funded completely at the time of granting*, can't increase the impact of USOE funds tremendously, as well as assisting the staff at USOE in identifying those institutions really concerned with improving their own capabilities to deal with the mounting problems of the day. Call this approach simplistic, if you will; I prefer to call it elegant and more effective than the training route. The point, of course, is that this approach requires much more effort on the part of the staff of the college or university. The stakes are bigger, the odds are tougher, and the game is serious. If you lose, you not only don't get the funding but you have to explain to several constituencies why you didn't win. Short term projects come and go without much notice from the Provost or the President, but win or lose a developmental grant and your department or school will be recognized.

STRATEGIES AND PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

If change is going to occur it has to come from pressure exerted by interest groups that aren't being served; the community and the students themselves have to apply the needed leverage. In order for this to happen there needs to be clarification of social realities and dissemination of that information. A management system would also have to be created which would protect the reform process in institutions of higher education and the schools.

The New Rochelle School District is not untypical of school districts facing serious cutbacks in funding. It may, however, be unique in its approach to the problem. In an effort to provide quality education on a reduced budget the school district initiated a plan to involve the community in a redesign program which met the educational priorities as defined by the community. The redesign program presented here is suggestive of how a reallocation of money can continue to provide high quality educational services economically.

It may also be appropriate to consider this type of plan in reallocating finances in systems of higher education. What is interesting about the New Rochelle plan is that the process of "budget cutting" and of re-education of teachers and reassigning roles are all rather closely related. This logic for cutting budgets may have a bearing on saving money at the undergraduate level of teacher preparation. The creation of school-based undergraduate education perhaps ought to emphasize that the teacher or teacher-to-be—not the back-up person or the administrative staff "curriculum specialist"—has to have the specific skills.

"If you, all of a sudden, enfranchise 18, 19 and 20-year-old citizens, you have put three years of the largest numbers of people in a voting age bracket. This mechanism could revolutionize the attitude towards schools and school issues all over the country. . . . They have become conscious of quality education; they will support bond issues. I would have passed my bond issues hands down if I could have had those 18, 19 and 20-year-old kids working in the last two years. I didn't. I had a bunch of guys over 65 that were killing me."

—Paul Salmon, see p. 144.

MR. OLSON:

Let us say that we begin with the notion that superintendents and principals and central administrative staffs of schools are the problem.

MR. SALMON:

That's part of it. And, your ossified teachers are a part of it, and your communities.

MR. FOSTER:

The thing that keeps me growing is what's happening to denied people in America. My cabinet staff is composed of Blacks, Chicanos and whites in high-powered positions; they keep re-educating me as to where the things are changing. If I didn't have those people intimately in the capitol re-educating me, I don't think I could make it. I can't have Barbara Sizemore just come in once in awhile, and I say, "Here, I've got to live with her." I have got to hear it every day. Unless there is that growing at every division in the upper echelons—at the assistant superintendent level, at the director's level—I don't think superintendents can keep up with the kinds of changes that are taking place.

MR. BENTON:

You must also feel your own ability to change with them; you have to have enough confidence to say that you can move beyond your present set of experiences and skills and can make that change. When the challenge comes, you have to be able to move with it. One of the basic problems is that the people who are locked into positions, and their accompanying behaviors, have difficulty admitting that the thing on "the other side" isn't so

dangerous. It's also exciting to you and you want to move with that. They see the danger as being something that's going to wipe them out.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

Until we can get to the point where it is in the system's self-interest and perceived as in its self-interest to define success in terms of success with groups that have, heretofore, been shut out, nothing much is going to happen. In other words, there has to be that constant pressure from the people who aren't being served. I really despair of any model that depends on the self-interest of those people who currently have power. Until we can get to the point where city superintendents see their survival and power base as being dependent on the poor and the excluded, we won't be able to begin to do business with the kind of teacher that Vito Perrone is training.[1] In terms of teacher training, you can't wait until the superintendents have changed. Part of the training of teachers has to be in effect, guerilla training—not simply how you ideally educate kids who haven't been well served by the schools, but how they survive in the system, and how you keep on fighting. If you want to look at Adams as a sort of model and you ask why we have, in part, been blown out of the water, it is because, frankly, we haven't built a strong enough base of community support. That's a reflection on our lack of skills in community organizing; it is in part also a reflection on the nature of the community that we have. Portland is a place that s very complacent; there is a small and relatively powerless Black community. So far, there isn't any overwhelming pressure for change. We at Adams have been trying to create pressure for change. We haven't been able to bring people along with us.

It is unrealistic to look to the professions to create the pressure for change. The community is really going to have to do that. Teachers are going to have to work directly with the community to do that.

[1] For a description of this program (New School of Behavioral Studies in Education, University of North Dakota) see "The New School" by Vito Perrone and Warren Strandberg in *Education for 1984 and After*, a Study Commission document published in January, 1972.

MS. SIZEMORE:

In Woodlawn our failure to disseminate certain sets of information to the community so that the community would have alternatives to discuss and organize itself hurt us. The teachers did not work with the community. They left that entirely to the community component of the Woodlawn Experimental Schools Project District.

MR. FOSTER:

Let's assume that Bob Schwartz's description of Portland is correct. What's going to be the mechanism in an institution that wants to preserve itself, whereby the dissemination of information is going to affect that kind of change. It isn't going to come from the institution. It isn't going to come from the Black community. It isn't going to come from the white community. Where is that force in Portland? Adams may have had trouble because it didn't get "all of the power" which it obviously couldn't do; the real power above it allowed it to be there only to the extent that it served the interests of the district. If it came to the place that the board and superintendent found that Adams was going to ruin bond issues or tax issues, or if they needed Adams as scapegoat for their problems, they might find it to be a convenient goat. What sort of dissemination is going to educate Portland? Portland State isn't going to. They are going to isolate Adams. I don't have any faith in the decentralization model that's being created. It ignores real power issues.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

The leverage for change in high schools is coming from kids. Adams is a school that kids like, by and large. The school puts a great deal of emphasis on kids having more freedom than they have had in most other schools. This has brought a kind of anti-kids backlash, parallel to a backlash across the country. The question comes up; at what point do kids acquire enough political clout to be able to really fight off that anti-kid backlash?

MR. SALMON:

A part of it is going to come with a change in the vote. I think if you look at the makeup of American society right now, they

had more 17-year-olds than the year before, and every year since 1953 they have had more people in that age bracket than any other age bracket. If you, all of a sudden, enfranchise 18, 19 and 20-year-old citizens, you have put three years of the largest numbers of people in a voting age bracket. This mechanism could revolutionize the attitude towards schools and school issues all over the country, if it's properly developed within the school setting. If these kids have opportunities (as they have had in Adams or have made in Sacramento High School) where they became conscious of quality education, they will support bond issues. I would have passed my bond issues hands down if I could have had those 18, 19 and 20-year-old kids working in the last two years. I didn't. I had a bunch of guys over 65 that were killing me. Place within your schools a real emphasis on the school as a social institution and what it has to do. In the few years before kids become enfranchised, give them an opportunity to work on real political problems. That much can be done.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

There is going to be resistance from the adult community. Our situation, in relation to Black communities, may be unique, for although our school population is one fourth Black, the Black community represents only 8 per cent of the total Portland population and probably less than 8 per cent of the voting population. To the degree that we talk publicly about creating a school that works for Black kids and consciously pay attention to that goal, we increase the amount of community hostility toward us. There isn't a strong enough base within the Black community in Portland to begin to talk about community control.

MR. OLSON:

Let me outline what seems to me a promising strategy. One notion that seems to be in the air is the notion of the importance of a good analysis of the market and a good distribution of the analysis. If an illumination of the market and a clarification as to which places offer training which would fulfill community need were made available to school systems and the community it would be helpful. Some communities are coming to some self-consciousness, but they still don't know where to go to get a decent teacher for the community.

The university — the undergraduate institution — becomes a center for action and dissemination. Some kind of alliance between the community and the university could be formed as a way of using the university to provide information for the community so that it could have a decent effect on the schools. I hear you saying that one might wish not to use the university any more as a training center. The school system becomes the training center. The third thing I have heard you say is that school-based undergraduate training would require the identification of operations where the community has a sufficient power base so that it could get effective teachers and create liaisons between the community, the school system and higher education which were responsive to the community. I don't know many places of that sort. The Navajo may be getting to that through Rough Rock.

The fourth idea is the notion of developing targeted education for teachers. You tell X institution, "Target your teacher training. The teachers are going to be placed on the Sioux reservation; so and so much money will come into your institution to do targeted teacher training; we will no longer support the general program which floods the market with teachers that aren't needed." Conceivably, you could get the superintendents' association working with the Urban League and the United Farm Workers Organization and the United Negro Scholarship Fund to create a study of what's going on in the education of teachers which would be a kind of symbol of a new kind of coalition and sufficient to change the name of the game. Could such a group create a study of the education of teachers which would point the finger back to the responsible people and systems and give them strategy? If there is something wrong with what's going on in the education of teachers in higher education, a hell of a lot has to be wrong in the schools. The schools furnish the practicum sites.

MR. CARDENAS:

Any good school-based program might have to eliminate mid-management personnel. We eliminated it. I have a summer training institute with no principal and no director. The teams of teachers are doing all of the planning and implementing.

MR. SALMON:

That's right in line with the current interest of NEA to eliminate all middle management and the principal.

MR. SPILLANE:

Collegiality.

MR. FOSTER:

Just one comment. Dave Smith has done a study of 250 communes in the Bay area. And one of the characteristics of communes that survive is they put together some kind of administration. Our experience with our alternative schools is that they all want to start loose; we want to break away from the system; we don't want to have any organization, and so on. And then about three or six months later they are back in saying, "God, you've got to help us put something here, because we are killing each other, and we are wasting time, and teachers are using time and nobody is responsible. What the hell are we going to do?" How can we get the necessary balance?

MR. CARDENAS:

That's a real tricky one. Of course, we have management for the administrative types of things; somebody has to order the food for the cafeteria and somebody has to fill out the requisition forms for instructional supplies, and so forth. But it is real tricky to have gone both ways. We have gone to the point where there has been an absolute lack of organization. On the other hand, we have had cases in which bringing in an administrator in order to make arrangements for a field trip has resulted in an autocratic situation.

MR. SALMON:

It seems to me that when you look at the way a large number of humans work together that there are three ingredients that you have to have: (1) you have to have a program, (2) you have got to have commitment, and (3) you have to have some authority for coordination. Now, if you are missing any of those things, it doesn't fly. You can have a program and no commitment and authority, and it won't fly; or you can have commitment and authority and no program and it won't fly.

MS. SIZEMORE:

The most important thing in the responses I get to my interviews with people that I have been conducting for my dissertation on what is community control is that everybody participates in the planning, the initiation, and the decision making of what the policy plan in the beginning was. This would also be true for school-based undergraduate education. Everybody wanted to be in on that. Everybody wanted to be in on determining whether you did what you said you were going to do which is evaluate. Those are the crucial stages to most of the people, community, administrators, parents, teachers and students; "What are you going to do? I want to have something to say about that. Did you do it?"

MR. SALMON:

That's the critical problem of administration right now—the administration of participation. Participation is good in small groups and it has been possible in the area which you talk about. But when you are talking about overall large decision making where thousands of people are involved, that's a real management problem. How do you get participation? You can do it out here in a decentralized way. But if you have a bureaucracy or hierarchy, how do you get it at the central board level in Chicago? How would you get the real parent participation in school-based undergraduate training programs?

MR. SCHWARTZ:

We found a powerful kind of tension in trying to democratize policymaking as much as possible especially where the student or the intern is just as likely to come up with a good idea or suggestion for policy as the principal—in fact, maybe more likely to do it than the principal is. We felt the need to break down hierarchy when it comes to the development of policies, and at the same time we found it absolutely essential to maintain some kind of hierarchal organization for the carrying out of policy. To get people to live with this kind of schizophrenia was very difficult. Anybody who works as an administrator in an organization knows that just by virtue of the fact that you are working full time on administrative problems and the teacher is not, you inevitably are challenged by the teachers on policy decisions.

MR. OLSON:

Are we saying here that what we need would be some kind of training package with respect to the strengths and liabilities of certain participatory institutions and administrative styles in the clinical schools that might be set up?

MR. FOSTER:

Yes. But it's damn tough.

MR. OLSON:

Would it be profitable for this group to meet with the Study Commission's deans of education group for the purpose of working on a management system which would protect a creative reform process in both higher education and the schools?—in the education and placement of teachers. Right now, higher education claims to educate creative teachers who are rendered khaki by the schools; the schools claim to receive college-trained people who know nothing about teaching and make them flower.

MR. FOSTER:

I would like to see the deans on that group tell us in their judgment the five or ten best teacher training institutions in America; I want to see what they really think is good. And then I want to participate in a group that goes out and takes a look at those programs.

MR. OLSON:

Perhaps we would be interested in a feedback from a select group of school superintendents concerning what institutions they regard as doing a good job of teacher training. Then we could ask the group of deans and the AACTE what their recommendations would be. When we get this information this group could then select a half dozen sites to look at; then either the members of this group or people they trusted could go around and look at them and write a narrative.

MR. SCHWARTZ:

That's a good question. Are there any university-based programs that are providing good training for teachers? And can we come up with a model or a variety of models that we can endorse? A third question is, what kind of clinical experiences

ought to take place in schools? And can we come up with a variety of models that we can accept?

I would like to get us on the record as saying at least one or two things about the kind of undergraduate education a person ought to have, completely independent of teacher training, if he's going to be an effective teacher. We ought to be talking about colleges and universities that are, in fact, learning environments and that fit the description of the kind of school which is a model of people together trying to work out some notions about what a community ought to be and what kind of interrelationships there ought to be between people and what kind of relationship that community ought to have to the outside community.[1]

We haven't done much of that. The concern of this evaluation should not be how much science should a guy have who is going to be a science teacher, but rather, is the university a place where the adults are models of learning, where they are engaged in learning? Is it a place that really puts the emphasis, not on rote memory, but, on actively engaging students with senior people—that is, with professors and real problem solving, whether it's building a community, or whatever.

MR. OLSON:

One sort of operation that might be necessary in the Study Commission would be to find school districts where undergraduate school-based training might possibly work. One would have to find school districts where the school format was a highly diversified one responding to neighborhood and to kids' needs. The school district would also have to provide for extensive parent training of the teacher and parent planning of the format of the schools.

MR. FOSTER:

I'm worried about the manipulation of this into suburban training.

MR. OLSON:

Would you exclude suburban schools where there was 75 per cent drug usage?

[1] The Study Commission is establishing a committee concerned with learning environments and "experimenting colleges" to look into just this issue.

MS. SIZEMORE:
Or where there is 25 per cent Black?

MR. FOSTER:
I would not exclude Evanston with 25 per cent Black, but I would exclude Orinda with plenty of drugs.

MR. SCHWARTZ:
There are two premises from which we can operate. Politically, we would have an easier time getting this proposal for school-based undergraduate training approved if we can say that the school can demonstrate that the kind of people coming into teaching now are not capable, because of background or training, of helping the school meet its problems. We must also show that the district has come up with a proposal for its own certification program which is a good one. It seems to me that on either account a suburb could qualify just as well.

MR. FOSTER:
I understand both sides of the coin. I'm very much concerned with the political nature of such a program. Beverly Hills will get another training grant—a grant which will be another way of excluding Blacks and Chicanos from being involved in relevant training. We would be training some more whites to be more racist than they already are in a racist setup. I just don't think that method will break through where we want to go.

MR. SALMON:
I can see that we would restrict it to urban education, but it seems to me that the problem is out there, in the small towns, the middle level cities and the rural areas, too.

MR. FOSTER:
We would want a program with a high emphasis on urban education, but any suburban school that demonstrated by the certain criteria that they had a unique relevance to what was going on would also be considered.

MS. SIZEMORE:
I would be opposed to the plan that provided a multitude of opportunities for the money to be channeled into all-white institutions. On the other hand, I feel that there are Blacks, Chicanos,

Indians, and other Spanish-speaking minorities located in schools in vicinities where the percentage of them is small, like 20 per cent or 15 per cent, who are still getting the short end of the stick. I would want some assistance for minority groups even in those situations.

MR. SALMON:

If you want to look at that problem, though, and go back to the Kerner report and its famous statement about the problems of America, it seems to me that you ought to have teachers, even in all-white institutions, who are sensitive to the issues of racism.

MR. FOSTER:

An all-white institution can't deal with race.

MR. SALMON:

If it can't, then you have really wiped out a big segment of our schools.

MS. SIZEMORE:

Open housing would do it, if you could get it.

MR. SALMON:

If the Kerner report that white racism is America's greatest problem is accurate; and if in the north you see more and more segregation, then we had better figure out a way to get into those all-white schools with some kind of program that develops some sensitivity to racist issues. I am not ready to buy the fact that you can't do it.

MS. SIZEMORE:

As long as Black and Chicanos move into all-white neighborhoods and get bombed, you can't do it.

MR. SALMON:

Okay. I'll accept that. But if you could change that pattern so that they didn't get bombed, you could do it.

MR. CARDENAS:

I think the point is that you were talking about a school-centered training program, and I just can't visualize how you would have a school-based program to teach white teachers to work with Black kids where there are no Black kids.

MR. SALMON:

I'm not saying that. I'm talking about teaching white teachers to teach white kids to be sensitive to racial issues and racial oppression. If that can't be done, then I'm almost ready to say there is no hope.

MR. FOSTER:

I don't think one can deal with the gut levels of a relationship with Black people or Chicano people or Indian people, while they are absent. I negotiate my relationship with Barbara while she's here, while we're talking with each other. If I just know Barbara as a picture that's put on the wall each day because she's Black and there she is, I can't establish that kind of relationship.

MR. SALMON:

I believe, counter to your belief, that there is fertile ground to be plowed and worked.

MR. FOSTER:

Do you know any place that's been able to? An all-white setting designed to make kids and their teachers sensitive to the institutional racism and the racism in New York can't do anything about it as long as it is all-white.

MR. SALMON:

That I don't know of such a place doesn't mean that there can't be one. Even if there are none, it doesn't mean that there couldn't be such a place.

MR. OLSON:

Isn't the issue academic? No major funding agency is going to put money into school-based undergraduate education in school systems that are all-white school systems, systems where there isn't some kind of meaningful transaction between Black and white, Chicano and white, or whatever.

New Rochelle's Redesign Efforts[1]

When funds get tight, districts adopt a series of fairly standard measures:

1. *Class size is increased.* Instead of 28 children per class, there are 30 or 35. At the high school level, teachers meet classes six times a day, instead of five.

2. *The number of specialists is cut.* If a district has four psychologists, it drops two. Reading teachers, art teachers, administrators, aides, and social workers are others whose positions suddenly become expendable.

3. *Programs are dropped or trimmed.* Instrumental music is eliminated. A course in fourth-year Latin or advanced-placement math is dropped from the curriculum. The number of art periods for elementary school children is trimmed.

4. *Services and supplies are cut.* Textbooks are kept in use an extra year. Painting and other maintenance work is postponed. Library books are not purchased, and supplies of pencils, paper and chalk are limited.

5. *"Non-essential" programs are cut.* Class trips, interscholastic athletics, sabbatical opportunities for teachers and outside travel for teachers and administrators are eliminated or cut to the bone. Funds for consultant services are lopped from the budget. All of these steps can have the desired effect of saving the district money and bringing the budget in line with available funds. But they have some serious drawbacks, too.

The first is that too little can be saved. Only when the number of personnel is cut drastically can real savings come from these measures. But more important than the difficulty of saving enough money is what cuts of this type do to the school program. They not only decrease the quality of education, they actually cut the program to the point that taxpayers are getting less educational value for each educational dollar spent. The very services, people and materials that are cut are invariably those that make the difference between a standard mediocre program and one that provides effective approaches to the learning problems of children living in a highly technological, often polarized, society.

The standard approach to budget cutting fails in two other important ways: First, it doesn't get at the district's real financial problems. They are dealt with for the moment, but they will appear again in the next year.

Second, the educational problems of the district remain unresolved, and as a matter of fact, become much more difficult to attack. The standard

[1] The redesign effort was directed by New Rochelle Superintendent of Schools, Robert R. Spillane, and his staff with funds provided by the Rockefeller Foundation. The effort included staff planning, community participation through a series of workshops, and the development of a final report prepared by consultant Paul Abramson, a former editor of SCHOOL MANAGEMENT Magazine. Portions of that report are quoted in this article.

approaches to cutting tight budgets, then, can be summarized in a few words: inadequate, short range and educationally undesirable. If our children's education is not going to be severely curtailed during the current fiscal crisis, other, more innovative approaches, must be found.

New Rochelle recognizes the inadequacies of the standard approach to resolving money problems. It recognizes, too, that it, like all districts, has tremendous weaknesses in its present program. (For example, despite a large apparatus to combat reading problems, a huge percentage of children in New Rochelle continue to read below an acceptable level.) To cut down on programs that are not succeeding makes no sense at all. Instead, the New Rochelle Schools are moving to use their present fiscal problems as an opportunity to redesign education within the district with two criteria firmly in mind:

1. To stay within the budget limitations so long as those limitations exist.

2. To provide a *better program* for children than had been provided previously.

Such an undertaking is far from impossible. But in order to get more for less, it is necessary to take some painful steps. The district must concede its budget problems (there is no point in arguing that it should not be so); it must be willing to rethink established programs; and, most of all, it must concentrate its efforts on services to be delivered, rather than on persons to be hired, retained or let go. That is the path on which the School District of New Rochelle is now embarked.

The first step in redesign of any program is the most painful. New Rochelle's first step involved cutting away. The cutting away was not designed just to get within budget limitations but *to release funds* that would make it possible to deliver many services that any under-financed district could not deliver—and to deliver them better than had been done before.

District personnel determined those programs that could *not* be cut without violating state laws and contract provisions. Then, almost everything that was not mandated was cut away. The result was a program that performed all functions that a school district must perform, but that offered little beyond the minimum. (It should be noted that even with this cutting, class size, while larger, remains well within acceptable limits. Increasing class size even more was almost the only area of budget cutting that could still be performed.) To protect some of the quality programs that were being offered, a few instructional leadership positions were instituted.

Efficient management of a $24 million organization demands a skilled and available staff. But in a period of tight budgets, belt-tightening had to be undertaken. Cuts in this area were made so as not to interfere with the proper functioning of the district.

A total of $161,000 was cut from the central office budget through the elimination of six positions, ranging from Deputy Superintendent to Director of Pupil Personnel Services. Two new positions were created to fill voids that had been created and a modest fund was established to allow some consulting services. Net savings in the central office was $101,000.

Instructional support is that portion of the school program which is not totally mandated by State Law, but which provides the essential difference between a school district that is meeting minimum requirements and one that is meeting the needs of its students. It is the most vulnerable to cutting, but it is also the area where restoration must be made if quality is to be maintained.

Somewhat more than $1 million was cut from the instructional support budget through the elimination of personnel involved in elementary school libraries, remedial reading, elementary physical education, elementary art, elementary vocal music, speech and hearing, social work and driver education. The services offered by each of these departments will be replaced with a district-wide instructional leader or support team.

The rationale for this decision must be understood to appreciate properly the redesign plan. Each department indicated in the above list is essential to the quality of a school district. But the services provided are not mandated. The new district-wide instructional leader or support team can work with classroom teachers, providing them with the instructional programs, tools and knowledge they need to carry out programs in each of these areas. For example, the elementary art instructional leader might design programs that classroom teachers—despite limited art training—can carry out. The result is that children will receive art, music, physical education and library programs, planned by specialists and carried out by classroom teachers. (The alternative would be to provide no support to the classroom teachers, in which case many children would get no program at all.)

In addition to eliminating whole departments, as outlined above, the departments of elementary instrumental music, attendance, special education, school nurse-teachers, secondary library and psychological services were cut, but not eliminated. These departments provide services that are either mandated or that could not be provided by untrained personnel.

Teachers are the single most important element in a quality education program. No amount of quality supervision, or institution of programs, no innovative budgeting techniques or organizational patterns can mean as much to a school district as the quality of its teaching staff.

New Rochelle cut $2 million from its budget. Reaction to the budget cuts was quick and loud. It is not easy to dismantle a program. It is even harder to accept the results when your job or your child is directly involved. At meeting after meeting, parents, teachers and other interested citizens of New Rochelle voiced their dismay. But their focus was on why cutbacks should not be made. The focus had to be shifted from what was, to what could be. The citizens of

New Rochelle had to see the cutbacks as providing a starting point, a base for improvement, rather than as an attack on their schools. They had to face the necessity for redesigning their schools.

Because a redesign program of this scope is of national significance, New Rochelle approached the Rockefeller Foundation in an effort to obtain funds to plan and carry out citizen participation in the redesign process. The objective was to identify the priorities of the community, and then to design programs to meet these priorities.

A conference was organized for May 1, 1971, which was asked to consider three questions: What effects are to be secured? What are the criteria for evaluating effectiveness? What are the New Rochelle schools for?

The conference participants developed a list of 23 requirements for their schools ranging from insuring that every child had the ability to read and write and count, to becoming a part of the community, to "giving students the ability to run things." With requirements of the system listed, the focus was shifted once more: "If this is a requirement of the schools, what must the schools do to accomplish it and what pitfalls must the schools avoid that would make meeting the requirement more difficult?"

The group was asked to identify that one requirement above all others that it considered most important and then, in a general session, to indicate how to satisfy and how to block that requirement.

Two requirements far outstripped the others in terms of demands of the audience: "Each child to develop to his highest capacity—intellectually, psychologically and socially," and "every child to read and write and count." Clearly the citizens of New Rochelle had very definite priorities in terms of what they considered the mos' important tasks of their schools.

The redesign conference accomplished many things. It involved the community in planning. It gave varying segments of the community an opportunity to hear the priorities of others. It gave the professional staff important guidelines in making short range decisions about the operation of New Rochelle's schools. At the same time, it set the base for a continuing study that will lead to long range programs and solutions.

REDESIGN PROPOSALS

Because the New Rochelle Schools had to be open and prepared to function on a limited budget in September 1971, short range programs took priority in staff planning. In developing short range programs, the staff took cognizance of the demands of the community, as expressed in the redesign conference. It placed its emphasis on meeting the two basic requirements of the school district: that every child develop to his highest capacity—intellectually, psychologically and socially—and that every child learn to read and write and count.

The following programs were proposed and accepted for implementation in the 1971–72 school year:

Maximum Advancement in Reading Knowledge (MARK)

The primary goal of the MARK program is to make every elementary school teacher a reading teacher and to provide the training, assistance and materials needed to institute an individualized reading program for every student. To accomplish this, the following steps are being taken:

Training. All elementary school teachers and all secondary school teachers of English will be involved in a special in-service program in reading. A team of teacher-trainers will be employed to work with classroom teachers, giving them the skills they need to diagnose children's reading problems, and to prescribe programs for them. Sessions will be held during the school year. (Elementary school classes will be dismissed at noon every Wednesday.) In addition, five teacher-trainers will be employed full time during the school year.

Language Arts Teachers. Each school will have a language arts teacher whose primary responsibility will be to aid classroom teachers, helping them to diagnose reading problems and to prescribe for them. On occasion, the language arts teachers will work with children who need special help. The emphasis will be on aiding children who, for one reason or another, have fallen behind in reading but who are not yet so severely retarded that they cannot function in the classroom.

Self-help Reading Laboratories. Each elementary school will have a reading laboratory where individual children will be able to work on their own or with assistance to improve their reading skills. These centers will be equipped with a wide variety of materials and will be staffed by a para-professional, under the supervision of the building's language arts teacher.

Educational Learning Center. A special district-wide center—to be located in Washington School—will be available to help children who are seriously behind in reading or related skill areas. Children will be bused to the educational center, sometimes for two or three weeks at a time. While there, they will receive an intensive dose of reading instruction geared to meet the specific problems that must be overcome before they can profitably return to regular classrooms. Among the services offered at the educational learning center will be instruction for children for whom English is a second language. The center will be sufficiently flexible so that it can also be used by students who need only part-time help.

While the basic thrust of the MARK program will be to aid students who have been having difficulty in reading (the underachieving youngster), it will also be of direct benefit to the "achieving youngster." Under New Rochelle's present program, formal reading instruction normally ends with the third grade. But there are many reading skills that students—particularly the very able ones—need that are not taught in the first three years. Among these are such

skills as reading source material, skimming, underlining, etc. Under the individualized reading program, children who are ready for these advanced reading skills will have an opportunity to learn them. Achieving children will also move into other areas of language arts, such as writing and speaking, and will be able to move ahead at their own pace into many areas of enrichment. They will be freed from the demands of reading classes that are not up to their level and at the same time will learn advanced skills now too often ignored.

The cost of the MARK program—including stipends for teachers attending the early training sessions, salaries of trainers and language arts teachers, and all materials, is estimated at $363,000 for the 1971–72 school year. By marshalling its people, materials and financial resources in this manner, New Rochelle responds to the commitment to provide its children with a better reading program than ever before at a price that fits within its budget.

Educational Support Teams

Traditionally, school pupil personnel services have been based on a "clinical" or "medical" model. Guidance counselors, psychologists, speech therapists, nurses, etc. have worked with pupils who were referred to them. These became their "caseload." With financial problems and educational change, this traditional "clinical" model is no longer effective. The multitude of problems related to youth require different solutions. Pupil personnel services must begin to develop diverse and comprehensive school programs to meet the needs of all our children. It is no longer practical for support services to function as individuals providing service. These individuals must function as a "team," bringing their different skills to the needs of individual students, parents, school personnel and the community. As a "team" they must be in a position to provide broad base educational support services in addition to servicing the individual student in need of help.

During the 1971–72 school year, educational support teams will operate within the district. Teams will consist of a psychologist, speech therapist, social worker, nurse teacher and learning disability teacher. Each team will work with three elementary schools and will also devote one day each week to a district-wide educational support center. With this team approach, a child who is referred to any one of the specialists will automatically come to the attention of the full team, ending long and unnecessary delays in testing, analysis and treatment.

A full-time psychologist will be located in each secondary school. He will form an educational services team in conjunction with guidance and other ancillary personnel in each school. The district educational support clinic will service secondary school students who need special speech and hearing aid.

The district educational support clinic will be staffed at all times and will attempt to handle "walk-in" problems as well as special situations that are referred to it.

The objective of this team approach to educational support services is to put people into the schools who are solving problems, not just identifying them. These teams will be held responsible for diagnosing and helping to solve problems arising among their student populations. The concept was developed in the belief that the fewer the intermediaries between the teacher and her pupils, the greater the level of her sense of responsibility for their full development and the greater the possibility of eventually implementing a functional system of professional accountability. Such support teams can help the classroom teacher concentrate on the majority of her students who will learn without difficulty. The teams will attend to the special needs of those students who have difficulties, attempting to remove any blocks to learning and returning such students to the regular classroom setting where most of them belong. The redesign will make greater service available to students, faculty and community, at a cost—$236,000—that fits within the district's budgetary needs.

Mathematics

All children must learn to read and write *and count*. That was a mandate of the redesign conference. While the basic thrust of the short range redesign program is in the areas of reading and educational support services, an allocation has been made to begin the development of mathematics redesign. A total of $25,000 has been set aside to purchase manipulative material, individualized material and simple math machines and to begin the process of retraining teachers. Programs will also be introduced this year specifically for students who excel in math.

Science Ecology Program

Because of the importance of ecological studies, a sum of $16,000 has been set aside to hire a single staff member and to purchase materials for delivering support to classroom teachers in the areas of science and ecology. Included will be curriculum development and supervision of field trips and school programs.

Lunch Room Aides

Originally the program of para-professional supervision during lunch periods was cut from the budget but other cuts in support personnel at the elementary level have made it necessary to restore this service. This will guarantee duty-free breaks for classroom teachers during every school day. The cost of providing these breaks is just $30,000.

Social Service Specialists

Again responding to a special and immediate need, a sum of $45,000 has been appropriated to allow each secondary school to develop a program in drug abuse counselling, crisis intervention and other services of a social service nature.

Summation

The six programs listed above constitute the redesign program for 1971–72. Total cost is $715,000, somewhat more than the available funds. It may be necessary to adjust programs slightly if this produces an actual deficit.

If additional money should become available other redesign programs would be instituted by the district. Among those that would be considered (in order of priority) are block grants to individual schools or to individual staff members; media centers; and educational television.

Block Grants. While it is important to create district-wide programs to meet district-wide needs, it is also appropriate to recognize the differences among individual schools. Each has its own personality, created by the differences among parent bodies, students, teachers and administrators.

In order to meet the needs of individual schools, the district might create a mini-grant fund. Each building would be eligible to receive an allocation from that fund, to be used in program development. Principals, students, teachers and the community would all be involved in this spending decision.

Each principal or individual teacher requesting funds would have to state the nature of the program he proposed to establish, the rationale, goals and objectives for the program, how the money would actually be spent, and how he proposed to measure the program's success or lack of success at the end of the year.

These grants would not be renewed automatically at the end of the year. If performance does not meet expectations, principals would be expected to make significant changes, modifying what was attempted or dropping programs altogether. In this way, the district would be able to guarantee to each school community an opportunity to establish programs to meet that community's highest priorities and to prove the value of the program that has been chosen.

Among the programs for which grants might be sought are media centers, cultural programs of various kinds, television workshops, ecological learning, etc. There would be no limitation upon projects proposed, so long as the school can define the program's objectives and offer methods for evaluating success.

It is estimated that $200,000 would be needed to make such a program effective.

Media Centers. A recent article pointed out that "between the media and the marketplace" Americans are exposed to an abundance of things. "Unfortunately, the abundance stops at the school house door. There where information, educating artifacts, and services should flood the environment because they are essential to learning, scarcity takes over—which may be why, compared to the outside world, schools often have a vacant, unreal quality." Well-stocked media centers would be a major step toward providing the things of learning to every school in our district. Through such centers,

students would have access to the latest in print, photographic and electronic learning materials, materials that are essential for true learning. The importance of providing such centers cannot be overestimated, but a sum of at least $100,000 would be needed in order to make a start in this direction.

Educational Television. The possibility of the district investing $250,000 in the development of educational television was originally put forward at a time when it was believed that matching funds would be available from government and industry. Such matching funds are not now on the horizon so a project which originally had been given high priority must drop further down. However, the future availability of matching funds could change this situation completely. Educational television could be a major tool of the New Rochelle School District if used properly. We must not overlook that possibility in our future—and immediate—planning.

A Look to the Future

As has been made quite clear from the beginning, New Rochelle's redesign program is in two phases—short range and long range. And, as Dr. Spillane has said, "It is perfectly possible that the eventual long range redesign will reverse or change that which has been undertaken for the short range."

Long range redesign is a major undertaking. It must begin with community participation and with concentration not on means (how can we best teach music or art or reading) but with goals and objectives and priorities. In an effort to encourage redesign activity in the community, the second Tuesday of every month has been designated for meetings for that purpose. Citizens have been asked to come forward to take the lead in determining the redesign format and in determining how the entire New Rochelle community can be involved in deciding the role that its schools shall play in the future.

The May 1 conference provided guidelines for the short range redesign that New Rochelle's schools had to accomplish. But the conference was actually more important as a first step in an entire redesign project that will involve the whole community over the next school year.

Sometimes, being Number Two is easier than being Number One. New Rochelle, for better or for worse, is Number One in the nation today in redesigning its school program, forced to that point by a funding program that leaves it nowhere else to go. If New Rochelle's redesign program is successful, it will set a pattern for school districts throughout the nation. That is why it is so important that we measure each step, weigh each action, understand the implications of the directions in which we are going.

The redesign process demands that we examine the services we expect our schools to deliver, rather than the persons who are delivering them. The redesign process demands that we ask, what are the services to be delivered and how can we deliver them most economically and at the highest possible level of quality? Only by asking—and answering—this question can school programs be redesigned to meet the needs of the times.

The Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers has been assigned by the National Center for the Improvement of Educational Systems, U.S. Office of Education, the task of researching educational reform and developing programmatic thrusts. The Study Commission works with the UPEP (Undergraduate Preparation of Educational Personnel) staff in this process.

This study document is second in a series that have been prepared by the Directorate of the Study Commission. The first volume, *Education for 1984 and After,* reports conversations with and articles by Deans and leaders in Schools of Education and "Teaching-Learning Centers." A third volume, *Of Education and Human Community,* contains conversations with and articles by leaders in experimental education. These materials are available on request from the Nebraska Curriculum Development Center, University of Nebraska, Andrews Hall, Lincoln, Nebraska, 68508.